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THE CROZER QUARTERLY

July, 1942

THE LAYMAN OBSERVES THE MINISTER	*A. C. Reid*	173
MELANIPPIDES ESSAYS HERMENEUTICS	*Matthias R. Heilig*	182
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE AMERICAN CLERGY	*Oliver W. Elsbree*	194
THE MAN NEGLECTED BY SCIENCE AND EDUCATION	*Peter A. Bertocci*	209
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ADVENTISM	*Winston L. King*	218
PRESENT TASKS FOR OLD TESTAMENT SCHOLARS	*Robert H. Pfeiffer*	223
FROM OFF THE CAMPUS AND ON		232
BOOK REVIEWS		234
BOOK NOTICES		250
BOOKS RECEIVED		259

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THE CROZER QUARTERLY

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THE LAYMAN OBSERVES THE MINISTER

A. C. REID

Wake Forest College

WE LAYMEN listen with unusual patience and good sportsmanship as the minister describes us. It is therefore expected that the minister, who is so unaccustomed to open criticism, will show the same degree of patience and good sportsmanship as the layman in turn describes him.

The very nature of this exacting subject requires a candid treatment which has no place for levity or evasion, for we are concerned with our Lord's business in a world filled with anarchy and chaos. In view of this discussion, it is necessary to state that, to the best of my knowledge, no minister has ever questioned my devotion to religion, or has found another layman who fights more persistently and seriously for the ministry. Moreover, my most loyal and respected friends include preachers; some of the greatest men whom I know—self-sacrificing men in high positions and in humble places—are consecrated ministers; and, in my opinion, the Christian ministry is charged with the most vital, the most crucial, and the most exacting responsibility in this turbulent world.

A fair appraisal of the minister cannot be made, however, in terms of sympathy, personal friends, or exceptional men. Nor can it be restricted to the ministers of any one faith or denomination. It must be made in view of clergymen in general, the magnitude of their responsibility, and the effectiveness of their influence. It must also be understood that adverse criticism is not here aimed at the abiding, fundamental principles of religion, but rather at the way in which these principles are so often presented vaguely, unconvincingly, and erroneously by religious leaders.

With these considerations clearly understood, the minister will be observed from three points of view: his equipment, his interests, and his courage.

I

The Minister's Equipment

The minister must be equipped adequately for his task. There is no need to prove the reality of the present crisis which perplexes the world's best minds. It involves enormous carnage and suffering. The present economic burdens will become vastly heavier, while the current socialistic

unrest can easily spread into a world revolution. A sensuous hedonism, fostered by pragmatic education, has obscured the idealistic concept of ethics. Many religious interests have been stifled by indifference and secularism, and the very life of Protestantism is threatened.

The mortal combat between democracy and totalitarianism is world-wide. The standard of the unscrupulous Machiavelli has been raised in defiance of human freedom and decency; and honor, respectability, and liberty demand that we exterminate the lustful maniacs who drew the sword. The conflict is frightful; its impact will demolish institutions, shock morals, and throw faith upon the rack.

Is the church, through its leaders, prepared for this situation? In view of conditions in the world today, no sane person will claim that the church is highly successful or is well equipped for the present emergency. It was not prepared for the first World War; nor did it learn a lesson from that war, or from its economic and moral aftermath. It is almost impossible to point out in the field of organized religion as of the last twenty-five years a single illustration of deep, sustained concern and effort about major spiritual problems. The church has suffered such mental obtuseness and spiritual blindness that it is unprepared for this war and its inevitable consequences. Low ideals, inadequate vision, and complacency leave the church woefully impotent at this time when our country desperately needs the support of religion. In this hour of peril the voice of the church is weak. For illustration, there is a dearth of Christian statesmanship, a perilous disregard of Christian principles, a serious lack of confidence in religious institutions, and a deplorable need of faith. The primary weakness of this country is shallow and feeble religious convictions, which foster many other forms of weakness. Its greatest need is knowledge of the principles revealed by Jesus Christ and unfaltering devotion to them.

It is time, therefore, for plain speech about the inadequate preparation of religious leaders who, in no small measure, are responsible for the present feebleness in this most important field of human interest and welfare. I shall mention only three causes of their poor equipment.

First, the privilege of entering the ministry has been abused. It is a notorious fact that almost any person who wishes to do so can enter the ministry, irrespective of his qualifications for its incomparably responsible work. Many people seem to have a superstitious instead of a sensible attitude toward the call to preach. No one is expected to inquire whether a call is reasonable, or reducible to an emotional impulse, a bizarre mental experience, or the influence of injudicious friends. It is incredible that our Lord discredits reason and employs ridiculous methods for the revelation of his will. Nor does God ever call a fool to preach.

Second, there is a vague conception of the young minister's responsibility. There is in no other major field such gross indifference to intellectual development and other forms of personal equipment. In many instances the young minister does not realize that in preparing for the ministry his first obligation is to become a cultured Christian gentleman. In many cases he substitutes sentiment for hard-earned scholarship, wisdom, and character. All too frequently he is impatient to reform the world, seeks a pastorate, and lets the hungry flock remain unfed. Some young preachers rationalize that they are divinely set apart, feel that the world owes them a living, and expect the Lord—or bookstores—to furnish them sermons. The Christian ministry is no soft couch for lazy bones and limp minds; it offers instead a yoke, thorns, and a cross.

Third, academic requirements for ministerial students are relatively low. Some laymen, with more kindness than wisdom, still tell young preachers that they do not need to attend college, to read great books, or even to prepare sermons. Many laymen foolishly praise mediocre discussions, and thus plant the germs of mental debility; for applause is a disease which few young men can withstand. Numerous ministerial students seek easy courses of study, rather than the hard, disciplinary, character-building subjects. While academic degrees are no infallible guarantee of wisdom or even common sense, nevertheless the intellectual requirements for the ministry should be higher than those for any other profession. To some of us at least, immortal souls are as important as agricultural interests, legal documents, and human bodies. It is, moreover, a self-evident fact that the respect which the competent minister must command, the confidence in religion which he must reëstablish, the ethical leadership which he must furnish, and the faith which he must revive demand that he possess superior wisdom. The minister presumes to explain the nature and will of God and to make clear high ethical obligations—a terrible, frightening, glorious responsibility which accepts no excuses for mediocrity.

In this relation, let theological schools examine their standards. Instead of thinking of them as equal to the great secular graduate schools, the layman rates them, by and large, as the weakest of graduate institutions. They appear to be technical and conventional, rather than great truth-seeking centres which train men in vision, initiative, freedom, and courage. Truth is constant; its discovery and application are progressive. A seminary which drills in rote interpretations, emphasizes the letter rather than the spirit of the law, offers a set of moral rules, relies on precedent, and glorifies methodology will mold puppets, instead of train prophets.

Now, the layman's faults are legion; he sins against the minister, and he contributes vastly to religious mediocrity. Nevertheless, whether or not

he admits it, he does desire reliable information and wise guidance. He is therefore so tired of platitudes, dogmas, cant, and categorical oughts, that he would welcome intelligent discussions of salvation, immortality, and the ways in which God deals with men. He is impatient with demands that he believe, that he trust, that he have faith; he wants to know what belief is, whom he can trust, and the nature of faith. And he wishes to understand them in the light of history, philosophy, psychology, common sense, and life. He looks to the church for enlightenment and leadership, but he suspects that the ministry is now sorely unprepared to clarify religious principles, and that the church is so moribund that it can now do very little to restore sanity in this mad world.

II

The Minister's Interests

This generation is called agnostic and faithless. It is reluctant to attend church services. It questions the worth of many religious organizations and practices, and discredits various conventional beliefs. This is not, however, an irreligious generation. The present attitude is rather a symptom of ignorance of Christian principles and distrust of many so-called religious interests and methods. Youth especially suspects that many of the assertions and demands made in the name of religion are irrational and untenable. It fails to find in them values harmonious with either the Greek ideal of truth, beauty, and goodness, or the Hebrew standard of righteousness, mercy, and reconciliation supported by the Eternal.

The layman often forgets that the minister is human. He thus fails to perceive that the preacher may be influenced by every conceivable bribe, including money, reputation, and social security; and that he is subjected to every manner of threat, such as poverty, heresy, radicalism, and ostracism. All too often the layman does not consider how he himself starves the minister physically and mentally, and otherwise unjustly restricts him; nor does he express proper appreciation of the pastor who assumes the burdens of the people of his community and burns out his life in their behalf. The layman nevertheless feels that, in many respects, the minister's interests are both too mediocre and too secular.

For example, the thoughtful layman suspects that the minister's standard of success is faulty; for the minister too often leaves the impression that he is primarily devoted to numbers, buildings, budgets, organizations, emotional upheavals, and other utilitarian considerations. These things are important, but they are not primary; and no church can promote spirituality in terms of them alone.

Again, the intelligent layman does not approve certain types of

sermons. He tolerates the essay sermon which is often vague in thought and weak in logic. He is tired of the current-events sermon. He promptly identifies canned sermons and illustrations lifted from a book of quotable pulpit helps. Unreasonable interpretations of scripture and the use of the Bible to support prejudices and invectives seem to him both foolish and reprehensible, for they are symptoms of selfishness and dishonesty. Witness dogmatic claims and silly predictions. Note the number of broken and divided churches. Hearken to the sadistic and vindictive utterances from pulpits. Hear the strained arguments in support of creeds and cults. And do not fail to understand that all such expositions are offered under the authority of the church as inspired manifestations of the will of God. The Lord undoubtedly has infinite patience; it would seem that he must also have a superb sense of humor.

Also, many claims and practices, clothed with the authority of religion, are contrary to fact and common sense. For example, we permit one, as he grows from infancy to maturity, to become polluted and warped by evil thoughts and habits, and assume that a profession of religion immediately and completely eliminates the established infection and perversion of mind and body. We storm about the inherent evil of the flesh; but what man would not bitterly resent the claim that his own infant child is sinful? We blame contemporary criminality on Adam, when we know that criminality is taught. Someone should erect a monument to Adam, the greatest scapegoat of human history. The fact is that we often use Adam, original sin, science, machinery, money, drugs, automobiles, and even the devil as scapegoats in order to avoid our own responsibilities. The layman would be more deeply impressed if the minister were to devote more attention to sordid conditions which produce sordid minds, and if he were to preach about the Christian's responsibility in relation to the formation of character, as well as proclaim the fact of divine forgiveness. The Master had something to say about those who cause children to stumble. Let the minister ponder those words of Jesus when he goes into hovels, slums, broken homes, psychopathic institutions, prison camps, juvenile courts, and penitentiaries. And then let him tell us laymen the facts about human wreckage, reveal actual causes of human pollution, and point out our responsibilities. God only can forgive sin; a Christian is charged to do everything within his power to remove evils.

Then, too, notice the profound wisdom and incomparable effectiveness with which we solve serious problems. I recently stated to four ministers that more Baptists were admitted to our state penitentiary than members of all other denominations combined. Each one gave this answer: "Well, there are more Baptists than there are all others." And it is common knowledge that our conventions solve major problems—solve them com-

pletely for at least one year—by adopting resolutions which are promptly forgotten, and by passing memorials which are rarely noticed.

Furthermore, the layman is not favorably impressed by certain assertions about God. Many statements simply do not have the ring of truth or the overtones of knowledge; they rather have the sound of trite, smooth, habitual utterances. Too often the preacher expresses an intimacy which is repulsive and familiarity that is obnoxious. A Jewish friend made this searing and justifiable comment: "You Protestants disgust me; you speak of God and his will as if you had just had lunch with him, exchanged opinions, and reached a mutual agreement."

Moreover, if there were greater devotion to truth, and therefore more enlightenment, the Lord would not be misrepresentd so often. Paul states what the layman—and also many ministers—feel about certain high-pressure preachers: They "became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man." Some speakers describe the Eternal God as a whimsical, jealous, vindictive, anthropomorphic creature. Others state or imply that he generously makes financial bargains, easily changes his mind, and wrathfully sends storms and pestilences upon the wicked. The impression is sometimes left that he blesses those for whom friends intercede, and ignores the friendless. It is not infrequently claimed that he imposes penalties more cruel than those of Nero, Domitian, or Caligula. Jonathan Edwards seems to express a still prevalent notion when he represents God as punishing sinners—people whom he in his omniscience and boundless love created—eternally in everlasting flames, and claims that the saved will enhance their heavenly bliss by looking down upon the damned with holy joy.

The thoughtful layman does not understand how one can have such beliefs or ask that one worship such a God, unless he is profoundly ignorant and obsessed by morbid and cowardly fear. Man is no worm designed to crawl in the dust; he is a creation of God. The layman recognizes the fact of sin. He understands how sin registers itself in man's body, mind, and spirit; he knows how sin brings indescribable tragedy; he admits that the violation of God's will results in human wreckage; he believes that sinful people will be judged and punished; but he is unwilling to attribute injustice to a God of justice, love, and mercy. He also wants no preacher to stamp his own prejudices and judgments with the divine label. He appreciates and he is disposed to follow, however, a minister who is intelligently consecrated to Christ and the Divine Father whom Christ reveals. If the preacher humbly follows Jesus, becomes devoted to the God of the gospels, and consequently exhibits deep and genuine

interest in love and justice and mercy, he will effect a revolution for righteousness. We know such ministers.

III

The Minister's Courage

The Christian minister has the extraordinary privilege of boldly discovering and releasing forces which would make man free indeed. He is committed to work with spiritual reality which is the first truth, our primary need, and the ultimate end. He should therefore be utterly unafraid of public opinion, social disapproval, and personal loss; and he should be the most alert and intrepid apostle of truth.

What, however, is the present situation? With rare exceptions, the minister is apt to be a conformist. For illustration, he adopts the quantitative and mechanical methods of the secular world. He often fits his thinking naively to the pattern of science, and then stays fifty years behind science in initiative. He usually adapts his thought to the conventional theological pattern, and all too frequently he leaves the impression that religion permits no new insights and applications.

The church, moreover, frequently offers us the stones of traditional opinion rather than the bread of dynamic principles. Some leaders so vehemently urge that an ancient prophet is the infallible guide for this generation that they devote scanty attention to the colossal issues of this century. Some glibly recite the Apostles' Creed, and feel that glibness is knowledge of truth. It is commonplace to substitute Milton's description of creation for the matchless Genesis story which has room for all time, for all processes of creation, for the spiritual nature of man, and for the fatherhood of God. Many clergymen find it easier to accept Job literally than to interpret intelligently that superb drama of human life which reveals human tragedy, temptation, sophistry, integrity, faith, and the Eternal God. They also make a fetish of the cross, instead of proclaiming its incomparable significance. Moreover, all too often, the church represents Christianity as a system of morals, as fire insurance, or as a raft on which man can float into paradise.

For Jesus, truth was not opinion, not a system of codes, not a collection of books, not the utterances of ancient wise men; for him, truth was vital, throbbing, indestructible, universally applicable. Himself the very embodiment of truth, he believed that every man should discover it and make it a part of his life. He denounced the Pharisees, not because they respected codes and institutions, but rather because they substituted them for truth itself. They in turn condemned him—and modern Pharisees are doing him and his contemporary prophets a similar vast injury. Both

ministers and laymen are now slow in accepting the word of Jesus that each generation raises monuments to the prophets of previous generations while it kills those whom God sends to the current generation. It is the dogmatic and reactionary guardians of tradition who, unbaptized in the spirit of living truth, are the protectors of the *status quo;* and who lead both the subscriptions for the monuments to the old prophets, and the mobs that murder the prophets whom God sends unto them.

The layman also suspects that in the name of expediency religious leaders sometimes practice evasion. He feels that many of them know more than they reveal and have valid convictions which they do not express. They seem to believe that certain facts and justifiable explanations would unsettle our minds and wreck our faith. They fear that the plain truth about the Bible, about Christ, and about the nature and application of Christian standards would shake complacent pews, rock some "pillars" of the church, and even blast certain ecclesiastical fortresses. Some of them raise vocal storms about gnats and scarcely whisper about camels. Nicoll thus speaks plainly about such evasion and temporizing: "The apostasy of churches always creeps on apace, when priests and prophets, afraid of malediction, and afraid of imperilling their worldly interests become cowards, opportunists, and time-servers, and not daring to speak out the truth that is in them, suffer the cause of spirituality and righteousness to go by default."

It also appears that some denominational headquarters and religious publications are disposed to discuss inoffensive matters and to write down to our people—our people who are much more intelligent than some leaders assume—rather than to proclaim boldly great Christian principles and thus break a vicious circle of mediocrity and inaction which they now help maintain. It furthermore seems that, with few exceptions, theological schools prefer to follow the easy traditional, beaten path. It is rumored that some of them actually require the faculty to sign creeds, as if truth were reducible to some formula. Our creeds can no more hold the truth than a tomb could hold the Christ. Wherever necessary, Christian schools should break the fetters of reactionism, although they like prophets may suffer a cross in doing so.

Now there are some things which a thoughtful layman dislikes, and other things which he appreciates. Of course, he usually says nothing or appears to be pleased. But he wants no man or institution to assume that he is ignorant, or to reflect upon his intelligence. He detests camouflage and evasion in the name of truth. He resents any implication of moral or intellectual cowardice. He feels that a faith which the truth would destroy is not worth saving. To the contrary, he hungers for truth. He admires an honest, honorable, intelligent minister who respects his per-

sonality, excites his mind, and challenges his courage. He wants the minister to be a man, and to treat him as a man.

In view of these conditions, I say with all the earnestness of my soul that the minister must do four things. First, he must seek the truth—seek the truth persistently wherever it may be found. No other evil is more dangerous than ignorance; no other heresy is worse than the claim that truth is harmful. Truth, not error, is the foundation upon which the church can live. Through truth men can find freedom—the Master said so.

Second, the minister must be intelligently courageous. The Christian minister is charged to preach Christ's gospel. That is the greatest privilege that a man can have. Let him therefore speak as God's prophet, fearing neither man nor devil, but only ignorance, cowardice, and misrepresentation of his Master.

Third, he must speak the truth in love. When he discovers the truth, let him speak it without reservation, dilution, or camouflage. Let him proclaim Christian principles; expose evil in high places and in low places; and have faith in God. That is what Jesus did.

Fourth, the minister must reveal Jesus. Instead of uttering platitudes, creeds, and pet opinions, the minister must hold Jesus himself up that we may see him as he was and is. For example, he must help us discover the Master's wisdom, his loyalty, his graciousness, his compassion, his fearlessness, his love, his self-sacrifice, his faith in God, and his saviourship. For if he be lifted up, he will draw us unto him.

And the preacher must stop the imbecile drivel about the ease of the Christian life, and, instead, describe the hard life Jesus himself lived, and state plainly what a Christian may expect to be called upon to endure.

The issue is squarely before us. The church is at the crossroads. There is grave danger that religious institutions will not survive this world crisis. They indeed may not do so unless they meet the challenge of this hour. Will the church continue to live so largely in the past as to ignore the realities of the present? In view of the existing world chaos, will the church confess its negligence? In the light of the cause of righteousness, will Christian leaders and Christian institutions shirk and compromise because of obscurantist criticism and the resentments of inertia?

Or will the church become a great corrective and creative force by interpreting life in the light of the living God? Will it give stability, hope, and faith in the dark days now upon us and during the trying years that lie ahead by revealing the living Christ and proclaiming his triumphant message? If the church chooses to remain self-satisfied, to condone ignorance, to restrict itself to mediocre interests, and to foster timidity, may God forgive religious leaders and have mercy on this chaotic world.

In the name of Jesus Christ, let religious leaders awake!

MELANIPPIDES ESSAYS HERMENEUTICS

MATTHIAS R. HEILIG

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

After watching a long game of chess played by Napoleon, the notorious Corsican, and Ben Morey, an American printer, it was a pleasant relaxation to stumble upon a group of celebrities lounging on a grassy knoll about a stone's throw from the west bank of the Styx, discussing anthropology.

I was especially entertained by the dialogue of José Rodó (whose quaint *Proteus* I had always esteemed as a precious literary gem), and Henry Thoreau, the glorifier of personal independence. Among the first words I overheard was the phrase "Deus evanescens," which might be used to designate the subject of the debate. The group of listeners grew as the two plunged deeper into their argument; and many comments were interjected by the interested audience.

The part which clung to my memory and which I have here set down is that which began when the ancient Melian lyric poet Melanippides appeared and was invited to contribute his thought. Thoreau had just voiced the opinion that the cosmic *Nous*[1] seemed to have been preparing men's minds for the realization that he wished to retire from the scene—wished to have men understand that he was going off to a far country and was leaving mankind in charge.

Rodó considered the opinion dated and labeled, and argued that interpretations of divine relationships with earthly inhabitants were always subject to amendment; that if Thoreau had lived in another part of the world, or half a century later, he might have felt that the cosmic *Nous* was making obvious overtures to men to receive him more intimately and cordially as one who desired to take more and more part in the human drama.

Voltaire objected here that the human episode was a comedy, not a drama; that God does not demean himself by being implicated in such undignified antics.

But Thoreau upheld his thesis and maintained that all history confirmed the theory that the Divine Intelligence had hardly enabled the human mind to arrive at a fairly rational conception of Divinity when he began to withdraw from the imagination of the race. Progressively men's so-called "revelations" were discredited, and their charismatic endowment repudiated, as thinkers discovered all speculations upon, and interpretations of, human experience to be inadequate. "Yet, increasingly," said he,

[1] Mind or intelligence.

"men have found superior satisfaction in knowing that wisdom is to be earned, virtue is to be developed, and beauty is to be produced, by the independent, uncoerced will and energy of mankind."

Somewhere, early in the conversation, Democritus, the philosopher, Sositheus, the tragic poet of Syracuse, and Thomas Paret, the American scholar, made suggestions to the effect that Deity expresses himself only through intelligent minds; and that as minds find themselves they find the mystery of God, and lose sight of him elsewhere. But Thoreau did not think the philosopher ought to lose sight of God in nature, howsoever neutral nature appears to be, and quoted Emerson:

> Enough for thee the primal mind
> That flows in streams, that breathes in wind;
> Leave all thy pedant lore apart
> God hid the whole world in thy heart.

Said Sositheus: "When the Cosmic Energy first crystallized into light and heat, and what the moderns call electrons and atoms, the Divinity back of it infused his life into the very substratum of materiality —injected his essential nature into all creation."

It was not apparent at first which side Melanippides would champion. I recall that he commented ambiguously upon Sositheus' remark by saying that it might be the case that the supreme *Nous* was thus successfully concealing himself from the *uncomprehending* eyes of men. He began by listing the stages of man's misapprehensions of deity. He had spoken only a little while when I saw the great lyrist, Simonides of Ceos, come into the group, with Stesichorus, the choral poet, of Sicily. They took a position just in front of me, and I heard Stesichorus remark: "This is the first time I ever heard Melanippides express himself save in Bacchic doggerel."

"Oh, he wrote some very good things," replied Simonides, "while he was living in Macedonia under the patronage of Perdiccas II. Plutarch likes his lyrics, and gives him a high rank. So does Xenophon. He has quite forsaken Dithyrambus, and is absorbing all the recent philosophy and culture he can find by association with the intellectuals."

Meanwhile, Melanippides had begun a kind of survey of the evolution of the idea of the divine in human society. I had been told that he had become greatly interested in the subject ever since his extensive conversations with the pious Frenchman, Ernest Renan.

"How it came about," said he, "no anthropologist has confidently explained; but in very early times men found themselves believing that a mysterious and invisible power, later termed the *mana,* resided in various congenial phenomena of nature, and exerted an influence upon the environment and even upon the careers and daily lives of men."

"Would you consider this belief in the universal spiritual power residing in natural objects a religion?" someone asked.

"Hardly that," he replied; "just as you do not consider the confused and hazy fancies of a child a valid and sufficient basis for conclusive opinion and action founded on that opinion. To the early races the concept of the *mana,* while an element in the racial ethos, was not a religious value in the modern sense of the term.

"In anthropologic findings it is correct to say, according to Ames, that whatever catches attention may be regarded as a spirit. To the aborigines there is no distinction between history and fiction, and there exists no clear boundary between actuality and dream life, and between perception and imagination. Such relationships as are intimately experienced and are felt to be important are governed by spirits—that is, they are considered to be those that possess the *mana* in the greatest degree.

"Modern examination of the stages in man's comprehension of the world-outside-himself, and, in particular, his concepts of deity, reveals a definite progress toward a hope that the universe is a spiritual affair, that deity is the real summation of all permanent values, and more—the reality supporting goodness, truth, and beauty.

"Very early in man's religious development the shaman or medicine man cultivated both magic and holiness. He achieved first, Havelock Ellis tells us, a notable conquest of his own soul. He tried to enter into a harmony with the universe. By this his sensations and power of apprehension were made sharper. In this unity with the spirit of the world (mysticism, in one form or another), the possibilities of both the control of nature (magic—later science) and the ecstasy of harmony with nature (religion) are introduced into human thought, with, says Ellis, 'a core of reality and an endless trail of absurdity, persisting even into advanced civilization.'

"As an outgrowth of the *mana* concept there came a marked improvement in men's imagination. The spirits became human in form and divine or semidivine in character—not that holiness, or absolute wisdom, or any kind of perfection was ascribed to them, but that they were much more powerful and knowing than men. Early gods of the Semitic and Hellenic races were (as W. Robertson Smith and Gilbert Murray have explained) species of animals. The humanizing and universalizing of gods in Israel and Greece was a significant achievement.

"Polytheism attained a certain culture and poetic beauty in the mythologies of the Far East and North, and reached its zenith in the Olympic council. Here and there a nation enriched and elated by conquests gave its favorite gods the glory; and in many cases one outstanding

deity became the ruling god. These tutelary gods shared the fortunes and fame of their worshipers.

"The next stage was a monotheism which ascribed to the deity rule and authority over all the earth. Only the educated held this concept with any degree of consistency. But still the god was patterned over man as a model, and reflected all the immaturity and deep selfishness of his creators.

"A later step up was the concept of a transcendent god. His personality was still quite human; but it was felt that he possessed qualities and attributes humanly inconceivable—that he had purposes quite beyond human ken, and that the puny solar system of which the earth is a small part may be but a remote experimental station, hardly included in the ultimate completion of the cosmic program."

As Melanippides paused, Walt Whitman spoke in his usual direct manner: "I had many companions whose search for God was guided by intellect alone. They reached the stage you have just mentioned. They were honest, serious, unafraid. I loved them. But they did not use their heart. They could not feel the pulse of the world. They would not embody all presences—high and low, good and bad, pure and defiled—to know the warmth of love in their bones and bowels."

"Yes; it is the love expression of the divine through the human that this class has lacked," replied Melanippides. "These intellectuals have not given all of themselves to a total experience of God in the world."

Margaret Fuller and two other New Englanders began to defend the transcendentalists, holding that they had endeavored to accept all realities both intellectually and emotionally. But realizing that the desire was to hear Melanippides, they quickly subsided, and the poet resumed:

"Among various parallel developments of theologic speculation a sort of deism revived, in which God is a detached and disinterested creator of island universes, playing with matter and force and apparently growing tired of his experiments. Or, he is an impersonal force; and this world which men inhabit is the product of a blind fortuitism. Or, he is the human image brought into consciousness and some sort of objective reality by spiritual emergences in collective powers and social values."

"That," remarked Rodó, "sounds like a refinement of the old totem religion in which the god is the spirit of the tribe."

Melanippides hesitated, then remarked: "There are some differences between primitive totemism and the positivism developed by Comte and Ames, and the social religious theories of Durkheim in which religion is the experience of kinship, the mystical expression of the collective spirit of the group. Ames suggests that God is the spirit of human idealism, the living process in which men live and move and have their being. He is a sort of glorified Alma Mater or Uncle Sam, constantly offering appreci-

able rewards for stated conduct and achievement. But he is as real as man's own nature, and as resourceful as man's inexhaustible aspiration.

"To the profound Whitehead, religion is 'world-loyalty,' and God is a non-temporal, actual entity—the principle of concretion, dipolar in nature. By his *primordial* nature he is free, eternal, and unconscious. By his *consequent* nature, originating in created, material worlds, he is determined, incomplete, and conscious. To Leuba, God seems to be an unsolved problem. He said he could not persuade himself that divine personal beings have more than a subjective existence. The naturalism of Santayana and Dewey lead up the same blind alley.

"Reason, as far as we can go under its conduct, compels us to postulate a *limited* creative control. I do not say *finite,* since the limitation is self-imposed and may be local—that is, operative in this tiny corner of the universe only.

"This, then, is a hurried glimpse at the beginning and the present development of artificial theology and religious conviction which have so powerfully influenced the social cultures of mankind—the winds of doctrine which have blown the souls of earnest people from pillar to post.

"Human experience seems to indicate that, as Thoreau has said, this divine latescence is deliberate. The Deity seems to wish to let mankind feel the fullest weight of world-life responsibility, and to let men do the supreme difficulties instead of prayerfully waiting for God to do them. God withdraws, as if expecting the soul of man to adventure more grandly when released from the binding belief in the surveillance of an all-seeing, all-knowing deity. The fear of the Lord may be the beginning of wisdom, but not the conclusion of it."

At this point someone in a group of Anglicans asked: "Could it not be argued that the evolution of religious faith demonstrates the increasing nearness and the fuller revelation of God and his desires, inasmuch as the result of loyalty to indoctrinated faith and the conviction that God is a very present help in time of trouble has been an improvement in the world's civilization and a refinement of man's ethical instincts?"

There was a murmur of dissent to the idea of cultural improvement. When I gave my attention to Melanippides again, he was saying: "Divine patrimony, guardian angels, special providence, mystic visions, fairy godmothers and good-luck charms are childish, but, some think, beautiful products of fancy in an artificial and sheltered society. But the mature soul suffocates in such an atmosphere. The soul must face facts and overcome the world by its own strength—without Siegfried's Nothung sword, Mambrino's helmet, Aladdin's lamp, or the rabbit's foot.

"The presumption back of a divine patrimony," he continued, "is that the human soul is permanently immature and requires the divine

apron strings for perpetual support. This rests on certain familiar analogies by which existence itself seems to be grounded in a divinely established scheme of forces, elements, and laws, and independent existence is shown to be impossible."

"But," insisted Rodó, "nothing is complete, nothing totally autonomous, as you admit. Hence, man, who sums up all the mysteries of mundane existence, is also amenable to laws, and along with everything else in nature is subject to limitations. Does this not virtually place man in the role of a helpless dependent, saved only by the material and particular providences of God who is the ground of man's biologic and psychic being?"

"By those who think God altogether such an one as man is," Melanippides replied, "it is assumed that God does specific miracles, that the machinery of the universe is so devised as automatically and infallibly to set up and carry out poetic justice; so organized as to effect an eventual readjustment of injustice, inequality, and frustration; so planned as to promote material progress and a higher culture, and to reveal more and more the truths which man by his own powers could never discover. It is further assumed that man develops certain spiritual needs which the universe is in duty bound to supply with real, objective satisfactions. It is said that man is kept going by hope; his courage and morale are maintained by faith; his integrity is sustained by the conviction that conscience is a special creation, and that the will of God is supernaturally revealed. Since man's total welfare seems thus involved in his religious convictions, the assumption is that the deity must be, as John Fiske would say, such an one as provides an actual, objective answer to these psychologic requirements.

"Man is truly a helpless dependent in respect to his physical resources. He owes his life and all to the long range providence of God in nature. We can start with man acclimated to this world and its furnishings. The question now is: Must God constantly revise his laws, interfere with nature, and overrule the folly and faulty good intentions of man? Must he perpetually parcel out microscopic justice, mercy, and truth? Must he forever sit in a court of appeals to keep human simpletons from destroying themselves and their civilizations? I say that God has not given us any grounds for thinking that he has so mismanaged his creation."

"Every great historic religion contradicts what you claim," interjected Rodó.

"It may be said, in general," continued Melanippides, "that while every religious system has made claim to *revelations* as the bases of faith, none can offer satisfactory evidence of the authenticity of its 'revelations.' If we could say definitely, Thus spake God! we would have what many

consider a certain basis for religious confidence. But, paradoxically, we would have therein the end of religion. The moment the will, intellect, and emotions are deprived of adventurous faith by some coercion, they lose their verve, their creative urge, their spiritual independence. The overt effects are standardization, creed making, conservatism, persecution.

"The soul needs to venture, needs to explore, to search—to ask, seek, knock. Faith—in the sense of confidence that an appropriate emergence will follow the right effort—is necessary to the healthy condition of the soul. Certainty is soporific. Doubt is the matrix of thought. Both science and religion face the same paradox: The more thorough your search, the less sure is your knowledge. The sincerity that asks difficult questions creates exceptional integrity and spiritual efficiency. A sanely critical attitude has been the first move toward every advance in human welfare in all the history of the world.

"Moses, Isaiah, Lao-tse, Buddha, Jesus, Spinoza felt the spiritual powers of the universe vividly. It matters not how they interpreted these feelings—in what categories and vocabularies—the great fact is that they felt them, and that their feeling is measurably reproducible. It was faith, in every case, not certainty—at least not that absolute, dead-weight fact-knowledge which silences the senses, judgment, imagination, reason, and intellect. Loosely speaking, the emergences in human minds of the self-sustaining truths by which men ought to live have been called *religious values.* Very good—so long as we understand how and why."

Some seventeenth-century scholar asked several unnecessary questions, and asserted that any truth felt strongly in the heart was the "word of God." Melanippides was very patient. He replied: "The good, true, and beautiful are the divine goals for man. That is as far as I will go. Too many sects have claimed a monopoly upon the 'word of God.' It has been characteristic of religious organizations that in every epoch their doctrinaires have denounced and rejected what had been confidently affirmed in the preceding epochs as immutable and incontrovertible.

"The development of the idea of God in the Hebrew race is typical. Elohim (literally, *the gods)* or Jehovah, as he was called by some, is represented at first as a whimsical, arbitrary creator, who allows his finest creation to go to ruin in irrational anger over a trifling disobedience to a meaningless command—a denouement which in his omniscience he was supposed to have anticipated! He is next a lawgiver, thundering out of Mt. Sinai. Soon he is a god of war, leading his chosen people through a wilderness, to harden them for conflict and conquest. He is a tribal god who hates the multitude of nations whose people do not worship him. He is a cruel god, who asks a devoted people to do hideous crimes in the name of religion. He is a capricious and irresolute god, who sends one

unsuccessful prophet after another to be stoned by jeering mobs. He is a vindictive god, who sends scourges upon the unappreciative sinners who will not be impressed by the picayune miracles of his messengers.

"The deity postulated by Jesus and a few of his forerunners among the prophets was different. Love, mercy, truth, and progress had become such conspicuous values that men of spiritual insight must needs attribute these qualities to God, the source of all good.

"But the Ecclesia Christiana was soon falling into the age-old anthropomorphism. It continued the Hebrew error of importuning God for personal gifts, favors, health, prosperity. Soon it presented God as one to be revered (if one would save his soul) as a Trinity, and as one who must be approached in the strict observance of orthodox ritual. God was to be served by the mortification of the flesh and deeds of supererogation. He was one to be glorified by victory of arms, as in the crusades; to be magnified by the torturing and slaying of heretics; to be propitiated by a proper appreciation of his redeeming grace and by a true understanding of the intricate doctrines of incarnation and atonement, sacraments and penance, *communicatio idiomatum,* and eschatology. He was held as one who had put his final will and testament in sixty-six various booklets, every word of which had its value by virtue of being literally inspired by the Spirit of God himself. At length he is a deity indifferent to man's theological vagaries, but one who demands observance of respectable morals and a loyal support and defense of the *status quo.* Moreover, through every stage it has been assumed that God holds within him a demoniac quality, in amazing contrast to his love and compassion; for, he is said to be capable of consigning to everlasting agony those whom he has not seen fit to equip with intelligence and strength of moral will adequate to resist sin.

"No student of history dares point to any past, orthodox appraisal and say: 'That represents the truth concerning the deity!' It would be a bold conservative who would point to the annals of the church militant with its persecutions, its compromises with paganism, and its surrenders to the world, and say: 'Behold the finger of God in history! Behold the saving grace of the Almighty!' "

As Melanippides paused here, Rodó inquired: "Are we to suppose that God would remove himself beyond the reach of the human heart without helping men to agree upon some approximate idea of his nature, his will, his purpose? without leaving some reliable, redeeming intellectual gift? some cogent, convincing indorsement of the true values in life?"

"But," responded Melanippides, "has he not been doing this through the ages by making man a rational and spiritual being? True gifts and permanent values are not corpuscular and sensory; they are spiritual. The

geologic earth is an amazing ball—but not the sphere of man's truest glory and elevation. Plainly the old globe isn't going to roll pleasantly into some external paradise, some dream-fulfilling port of heart's desire, for the happy solution of all man's problems. Whatever men learn of truth and God and happiness they have to work out for themselves. There are ample quantities of tools and raw materials.

"More than that, God has infused his life into his creatures—has, indeed, injected the vital force of his essential nature into the whole substratum of materiality."

Cotton Mather spoke at this juncture: "You have reminded us that recent formulations of the concept of God pay but scant heed to the orthodox doctrines relating to divine and miraculous interference in men's careers. But I must remind you that the miracle of nature is a constant factor; and in nature there are calamities and scourges and woes. Was it not a part of the divine plan that peril, pain, and privation should persist, so that men would be prompted to appeal to heaven—in short, to keep men interested in God and conscious of their dependence? One of your greatest poets in modern times, Robert Browning, writes:

> And, all day, I sent prayer like incense up
> To God the strong, God the beneficent,
> God ever mindful in all strife and strait,
> Who, for our own good, makes the need extreme,
> Till, at last, He puts forth might and saves."

"By no means," exclaimed Melanippides with considerable feeling, "can I assent to such a sentiment. Reverence for the divine integrity is shocked by hearing that 'man's extremity is God's opportunity.'"

But Cotton Mather continued his demur. "To the loss of miracle," said he, "and the implied indifference of God to the devastating catastrophes suffered by men, must be added the shock of realizing that all history has taken place under the delusion of a fancied divine support, and all human effort has depended upon supposed but 'impossible' miracles for faith and hope. Has man been blind? And do you ask me to believe that in this supposed blindness he had built a vast ecclesiastical system, fostered a great civilization, and found peace in the consciousness of God's favor?"

To which Melanippides replied: "Yes! And this blindness has been responsible for misery and frustration, the pain of which his cherished illusions and mistaken faith only partially alleviated. Just as the human mind awoke to the startling fact that the earth does not rest like a huge convex shield on a tortoise, but revolves like a ball, and spins around the sun, so the mind has to awake to the fact that mysterious unknown laws hold the destiny of mankind in an orbit, at the centre of which is that

illuminating essence or principle which we call intelligent, purposeful love.

"Here are new and unformulable laws in vast, teleological gestation, selecting out of the comprehensive phenomena of the creative flux the good, true, and beautiful elements as permanent values."

Walter Raleigh interrupted: "But men are not educated to appreciate permanent values. And, if they are convinced that no all-seeing eye is watching them, they will descend to all manner of concupiscence. Does not the denial of a justice-dispensing deity in time and in eternity make one a nullifidian? Was the faith of our fathers all wrong?"

Before Melanippides could speak, Walt Whitman replied to him. "If a man holds a religion," said he, "and is loyal to it because an austere arbiter is watching him, that man's religion is vain and vicious, and his loyalty dishonorable. The very humblest men instinctively learn of sincerity and kindness and other 'permanent values.' "

Francis Asbury spoke: "Why," he asked, "cannot the Creator provide for man's exigent emergencies, just as he provides for his generic requirements?"

"I thought we had covered that point," said Melanippides. "It is because the purpose of evolution is to achieve for those of the highest intelligence the greatest amount of free choice possible. Also, because a minute, detailed, piecemeal supervision of individual careers by the cosmic Mind would set up laws annulling great basic principles of integration. For, evolution is a process through the millennia of ages, in which is introduced a purging principle of test and fining, deliberately to produce gold in the bosoms of both men and mountains. Such is the most probable reading of nature's cryptogram. But, mark well, man must mine that gold himself and alone!

"This gold is refined from the ores of goodness, beauty, and truth. These basic values are the supreme elements in the adequate beneficence of God. They are the substantial qualities of his being; and as such they become the spiritual realities in man. Epictetus wrote: 'What is the essence of God? Mind, Intelligence, Reason? True; here, then, look for the essence of the good.' "

It was at this point that someone asked Melanippides how the saint of the future would surpass the saint of the past. Several scholars, including Abelard, Duns Scotus, Thomas Higginson, Hugo Grotius, Leibnitz and my friend Paret, discussed sainthood at some length. Finally, I noticed that Melanippides was speaking again. He was saying:

"Often the saints of old caught a clearer vision of reality, but they were generally confused by a conviction that they owed a loyalty to the traditions and forms under which the popular and familiar religious values were usually given expression. There was no science, and there

was no adequate philosophy as yet to delocalize their apperceptions. They still considered God an opportunist; they still believed in the possibility of divine partiality.

"The saint of the future needs not be disturbed by traditions nor inhibited by superstitions. He will see but one *miracle:* the universal law of accelerated value in all being, in all life, in all virtuous and purposeful achievement. He will see but one *providence:* the creation-long teleology, by which the self-effacement of a Jesus, a Socrates, a Spinoza, can be traced back to the conditions which ten million years before made possible the feeble self-control of a Silurian polyp. He will see but one *creation:* the continuous procession of the unseen and eternal into the life of the world. The visible universe—as George Santayana says, in substance—must be constructed upon some general and all-embracing principle, which our philosophy and our senses must discover before we can know how to find the unseen and eternal world of which this universe is the emanation.

"The saint of the future will know but one *moral principle:* the preservation of integrity—an integrity which tolerates no injustice and secret selfishness in his own life. He will recognize but one *religion:* the religious conduct of life, which means the conscious loyalty to idealism and the constant awareness of the categorical imperatives of duty to the race and duty to one's own highest conceptions of constructive living.

"And, the saint of tomorrow will know only one *God:* the cosmic spirit whose life operates in distant Ursa and the Pleiades as well as in the protoplasmic structure of the smallest animalculum—whose purposes include the burning and cooling of a billion suns as well as the functioning of a billion reflex arcs in the human brains in which mentality and character are evolving—a God whose grace and power may be appropriated by human spirits who live as intelligent and free exponents of the good, true, and beautiful. Emerson says: 'As a plant upon the earth, so a man rests upon the bosom of God; he is nourished by unfailing fountains, and draws at his need inexhaustible power.'

"Hidden and mysterious as ever, more remote than men have imagined, yet more wise and loving in long term providence than human intellect can fully understand, this God radiates his power and spirit and being into the life and mind of man. And the rationalizing genius of man responds and, like the heliotrope, turns and faces the source of light.

"Vastly removed, yet closer than breathing and hands and feet, God recedes still farther away, yet comes still closer to the heart of man!"

Melanippides paused so long that we thought he had concluded; and Walt Whitman remarked: "I am reminded that the great comrade Jesus, whom men revered as if he were a god, on whom his beloved friends leaned all too heavily, on whom I leaned across the centuries—that he saw

how greatly he dominated the wills of his friends, and that he said it was expedient for them that he go away."

The ancient lyrist nodded to Whitman and resumed: "The mature saint of tomorrow will learn to depend upon his native powers, his intuitions and spiritual impulses, his inventiveness and the secrets he discovers in nature and society and his own heart's experience. He will use his findings—having a new, sure faith in their validity—to build a world independent of schools and creeds and traditions. The best of the past he will utilize as a forester uses dry lumber to feed his winter fire.

"The future saint will not cry to God in consternation of doubt or fear of death or agony of grief. He will feel that every experience, howsoever painful, unexpected, or unmanageable, is his share of the pulsating life of a God-saturated universe, in which all things tend to work together for the eventual triumph of the good, true, and beautiful, for the vindication of creation, and for man's ultimate capacity to understand and enjoy God!"

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE AMERICAN CLERGY

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"The religionist in politics and the politician in religion are equally a curse to human society." This dogmatic statement by Edmund Burke needs to be corrected by Rousseau's dictum: "Those who would treat politics and morality apart will never understand anything about either one or the other," for the world shaking events which Rousseau probably helped bring about and which Burke resisted with all the might of his masterly oratory were of great importance in helping shape the thought patterns of religious leaders in America. Obliquely these great political and social upheavals were to be effective in helping to launch a great number of movements in the field of humanitarian endeavor. The channel through which this current was to flow was not, however, the recent eighteenth-century enlightenment which was characteristic of the Jeffersonians but rather the older Christian belief in the millennium which, it was fervently believed, would soon begin. Particularly was this true of the ardent disciples of Samuel Hopkins, who died in 1803 and whose treatise on the millennium illustrated the practical working of what Hopkins liked to call "disinterested benevolence." The rationalistic utopia of the eighteenth century, the guiding principle of which was "reason," was discarded in America, to a great degree because of the reaction against the excesses of the French Revolution. In place of this utopia of the *philosophes* there was substituted the older irrational chiliasm or millenarianism, a tendency inherent in nearly all the major crises of history.

It is an understatement to say that the American clergy at the beginning of the nineteenth century were frequently indulging in political forecasts. Rather more true would it be to say that few were able to resist the urge to interpret the unusual and fearful happenings of the revolutionary era as direct fulfillments of Scriptural prophecy, especially those of Daniel and Revelation. Wars and rumors of wars, Jacobin intrigues, recurrent visits of the yellow fever and the assaults of infidel philosophy —all combined to bring about a closer scrutiny of the more obscure passages of the Bible to determine, if possible, just what might be expected to happen in the near future. Nor were the writers of Scripture the only oracles consulted in the era of Napoleon. For example, the *Vermont Evangelical Magazine* for August, 1809, included among the prophets John Eliot (1604-1690), the apostle to the Indians, who had said: "God will bring many nations into distress and perplexity, so that they may be forced unto the Scriptures; all governments will be shaken,

so that they may be forced at last to pitch upon that firm foundation, the Word of God." This pronouncement, probably intended to apply to the age of Cromwell, seemed to the early nineteenth century reader to have even more significance when applied to the troubled period of Napoleon.

Among American preachers and educators of the eighteenth century few, if any, came to have greater prestige than Ezra Stiles (1725-1795), missionary to the Indians, lawyer, pastor, president of Yale College, professor of ecclesiastical history, learned in literary and scientific lore, lecturer in mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, natural philosophy, as well as mental and moral philosophy, moderate Calvinist, and famous for one of the best diaries written in his century. Like the great Sir Isaac Newton of a previous generation, Stiles studied with great care the prophecies of Scripture in order to ascertain the shape of things to come. In what was perhaps the most famous of all his patriotic sermons, "The United States elevated to Glory and Honor," delivered in 1783, the great Yale president linked up the future of America with the prophecies of the Bible concerning the Jews. Those passages which outlined the ultimate restoration of the Jewish people to their homeland Stiles regarded as "allusively prophetic" of the future prospect and splendor of the United States.[1] Europe, he believed, had been settled by Japheth, the son of Noah, and from Europe had come the ancestors of the Americans. The Indians, on the other hand, were descended from the Canaanites whom Joshua had driven out of Palestine. Leaving the Holy Land some had wandered across the seas to Mexico and Peru, while others had crossed the Bering Strait to North America.[2] The inhabitants of Europe were destined to increase until they would number between two hundred and three hundred millions. As for the United States Stiles asserted: "It is probable that within a century from our independence the sun will shine on fifty million of inhabitants in the United States. This will be a great, a very great nation . . . before the millennium the English settlements in America may become more numerous millions than that greatest dominion on earth, the Chinese Empire."

"We live in an age of wonders," he continued. "We have seen more wonders accomplished in eight years than are usually unfolded in a century."[3] He argues against hereditary monarchy for the United States. "And where is the wisdom of consigning government into such hands? Why not much better—since we for once have our option or choice—to commit the direction of the republic to a Wittena-gemot, or an aristocratical council of wise men?"[4] Stiles seems to have been an extreme states'

[1] J. W. Thornton, *The Pulpit in the American Revolution*, p. 403.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 407, 408.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 439-441.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 417.

rights man because he did not want to see any transfer of sovereignty by the individual states to the Witenagemot; each state was rather to remain completely independent. He likewise followed Harrington in his contention that dominion is founded on property. He advocated the free tenure of land and believed that even the Indians would benefit by the enhanced value of their lands due to the growth of the white population.[5]

"The United States," said Stiles, "will embosom all the religious sects or denominations of Christendom. . . . Of these, next to the Presbyterians, the Church of England will hold a distinguished and principal figure. . . . The Baptists, the Friends, the Lutherans, the Romanists, are all considerable bodies in their dispersions through the states. . . . There are the Westleians [*sic*], Mennonists, and others, all which make a very inconsiderable amount in comparison with those who will give the religious complexion in America, which for the southern part will be Episcopal, the northern, Presbyterian." [6]

The part America was destined to play, according to Stiles's interpretation of Scripture, was clear and closely related to what he called the "three coetaneous events whose futurition is certain from prophecy." These events were the annihilation of Roman Catholicism, the return of the Jews to their homeland, and the fullness of the gentiles. The part which the United States was destined to play in bringing about the return of the Jews and the conversion of the rest of the world might well be no small nor unimportant one.[7]

It is clear that a considerable number of the clergymen of America, who, like Stiles, had preached many a patriotic sermon during the period of the struggle for independence, were disposed at the outset to welcome the French Revolution as a similar liberating force in the world. For example, William Linn, pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in New York, in a sermon before the Tammany Society July 4, 1791, not only glorified the leaders of the French National Assembly but denounced Edmund Burke as a "man who raves sublimely but in vain." [8] Three years later he published a series of sermons entitled "Discourses on the Signs of the Times." These sermons by 1794 were stirring up considerable opposition, and Linn himself was later to modify his endorsement of the movement in the light of its association with the Reign of Terror.

The opposition to the French Revolution had clearly crystallized earlier in England than it did in America. When Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), the famous scientist and clergyman, undertook to reply to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution,* his house and chapel in Birming-

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 419.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 467, 468.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 471.
[8] Charles Downer Hazen, *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution,* p. 273.

ham were burned by a mob as early as 1791, and he was forced to take up his residence in London for three years before he came to America. Priestley was a peculiar combination of materialistic freethinker and believer in the literal meaning of the biblical prophecies. Here again we find another man with a scientific mind devoting precious hours of study, in the manner of Sir Isaac Newton, to the problem of the proper interpretation of contemporary history in the light of Scriptural prophecy. In a sermon entitled "The Present State of Europe compared with the Antient Prophecies," published in 1794, in Philadelphia, the great chemist explained the "true" meaning of the prophecies of Daniel. Believing as he did that Daniel had clearly foretold the rise of the papacy in Europe, Priestley attempted to explain how many of the more obscure prophecies in that apocalyptic book were being fulfilled in the contemporary world. The kingdom of God, he maintained, was not to be purely a spiritual kingdom. Moreover it was not to be established by a gradual evolution but rather by men of violence. All eyes were then turned on the conflict between the papacy and the revolutionists in France. The papal power was about to be overthrown in a great war. A time of great trouble lay immediately ahead for mankind. The knowledge of the gospel was certain to be carried to distant lands by refugees from Europe. After the gospel had thus reached out to the farthest limits of human habitation the millennium would come. "That those great troubles so frequently mentioned in the antient prophecies, are now commencing, I do own I strongly suspect. . . . the events of the last years have contributed to strengthen that suspicion." [9]

After the rise of Bonaparte, who became Emperor Napoleon I the year that Joseph Priestley died, most of the clergymen who had already been linking the French Revolution to the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation now saw further evidence of the Divine hand in European contemporary history. Priestley himself seems to have come to believe that Napoleon was destined to be the instrument of God foreshadowed in the apocalyptic parts of the Bible. In a letter to Benjamin Rush, written August 8, 1799, just a few months before the *coup d' état* which made Bonaparte master of France, he said: "I wish I could give you as much satisfaction with respect to the prophecies as you do to me with respect to medicine and physiology. The present time shows us where we are in the great chain of events. I expect the downfall of all the states represented by the ten toes in the image of Nebuchadnezzar, and the ten horns of the fourth beast of Daniel, before the present war be over." [10]

Priestley's comments on the French Revolution, after he came to

[9] Joseph Priestley, *The Present State of Europe compared with the Antient Prophecies*, p. 42.
[10] H. C. Boulton, *Scientific Correspondence of Dr. Priestley*, p. 156.

America, contrast with his earlier sympathetic attitude only in a sort of reticence, a feeling that he was indeed a spectator in a panorama of vast proportions, an objective student of Scriptural prophecy being literally enacted on the stage of contemporary history. Most of the clergymen in America, however, were not content merely to observe and to speculate on what was about to happen. Especially was this true after the execution of Louis XVI, early in 1793. The Reign of Terror of 1793-94 gave added impetus to the zeal of the Federalist clergymen who professed to see the Jeffersonians as American Jacobins. David Osgood, pastor of the Congregational Church in Medford, Massachusetts, in a Thanksgiving sermon, delivered in 1794 singled out for special attack Citizen Genet and "certain self-created societies." The Jeffersonian party, it is said, came to regard Osgood as "an inquisitorial cleric densely ignorant" and a supporter of monarchy.[11]

Among the few clerical defenders of the Revolution after 1793 was Ebenezer Bradford of Rowley, Massachusetts, who preached a sermon as late as 1795 entitled "The Nature and Manner of Giving Thanks to God, illustrated," in which the revolutionary excesses were deplored without the whole movement being condemned. Among other things he said: "No event in the course of Divine Providence, except the enjoyment of the Gospel, can be estimated more highly or rationally demand more gratitude from an American than the late successes of the French nation."[12] Possibly he had in mind the overthrow of Robespierre, but it is clear that this one clergyman did not view the whole movement as detrimental to law and civilization. On the other hand many of the sermons reveal the belief that wicked men were being used, as perhaps never before in human history, to carry out God's plan for the destruction of evil institutions, like the papacy, and thus unwittingly to serve as instruments of providence helping to hasten the millennium.

One may venture the assertion that practically all the Protestant clergymen in America believed in the literal, verbal inspiration of the Bible at the time of the French Revolution. That means not only those denominations regarded as sound in the faith but such variant groups as Unitarians and Universalists. Likewise all these Protestant clergymen accepted as all but axiomatic that the pope was the Antichrist referred to in the New Testament and foreshadowed by Daniel in the Old Testament. It is true that some theologians maintained that there were two Antichrists, an Eastern and a Western, or the Turkish Empire and the papacy. After the rise of Napoleon to prominence there was a tendency to speculate as to whether or not he might be the "man of sin." But Napoleon

[11] Hazen, *op. cit.*, p. 272.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 272, 273.

never came to occupy the central position in respect to the headship of the forces of evil that the papacy had consistently held in the minds of Protestant theologians. Uzal Ogden (1744-1822) of Newark, rector of the Trinity Episcopal Church, may be regarded as representative of the current thought for the closing years of the eighteenth century. In a two volume work entitled *Antidote to Deism* he asserted:

> The destruction of Anti-Christ, or the papal power, is clearly foretold in the eighteenth chapter of the book of Revelation. The commencement of its ruin began at the period of the Reformation; it will be greatly promoted, in the order of Providence, by the French Revolution, and its total dissolution is not very far distant, when the fourth happy period of the church . . . shall commence. But the deistical revolutionists of France, it is believed, entertain not the most distant thought, that by their actions, and even their rage against Christianity, they are contributing to advance its real interests, and also to the completion of ancient prophecies.[13]

Ogden's conservative and relatively cautious interpretation of prophecy needs to be contrasted with what was doubtless an extreme case reported by Bishop Asbury in his *Journal* under date of August 13, 1796. "I rode to Elizabethtown," he wrote, "where I preached: the next day I met the classes. Having heard many things of Mr. Austin, many of which were very wild, I went and heard for myself: he explained the 22nd chapter of the Revelation of Jesus Christ to St. John, and applied it to the millennium and reign of Christ upon earth: he foretold the time and place of the coming of the kingdom of Christ; General Washington being Zerubbabel, and himself Joshua the high priest . . . all this appeared to me like wildness of the brain."[14] Bishop Asbury seems to have been one of the very few prominent clergymen who escaped the all but universal tendency to fit contemporary events into a prophetic strait-jacket. Perhaps he was too busy to "search the Scriptures" for such purposes. At any rate his comment on the whole French Revolutionary episode was economical if not historically accurate when he wrote after its close: "Philosophy, so-called, with Voltaire for its high priest, brought night and destruction upon France, judicially to avenge on the bloody house of Bourbon, the blood of the Protestant martyrs." When he heard that Napoleon had toppled from his throne, he entered in his *Journal* this brief comment: "Can it be that Bonaparte is finally overthrown? The time is coming that all kings and rulers must acknowledge the reign of the King of kings or feel the rod of the Son of God."[15] It may well be that Asbury's restraint during this critical period of history had a considerable influence on the subsequent attitude of Methodists generally

[13] Uzal Ogden, *Antidote to Deism,* Vol. 2, pp. 93, 94.
[14] Francis Asbury, *Journal,* Vol. 2, (entry for) August 13, 1796.
[15] *Ibid.,* Vol. 3, p. 389.

not to follow the current millenarian or chiliastic interpretation of the prophecies of the Bible.

The successor of Ezra Stiles in the presidency of Yale College was Timothy Dwight (1752-1817), grandson of Jonathan Edwards, chaplain in the American army during the American Revolution, and prominent in the group known as the "Hartford wits." As president of Yale it was later said of him that he stamped out infidelity by forensic disputation. There can be no question as to the preëminent character of Dwight's leadership within the politico-ecclesiastical hierarchy of Calvinist Connecticut, or of all of New England for that matter. He was in no wise daunted when his foes dubbed him "the pope of Connecticut." To the end of his days he pontificated on all sorts of public questions, but on none was he more eloquent than on the relation of the current French Revolution to the prophecies of Scripture. The book of Revelation might be difficult for some to understand, but not for Timothy Dwight. At an hour when war between the United States and the Republic of France seemed imminent Dwight was invited by the citizens of New Haven to deliver the annual fourth of July sermon. The topic chosen was "The Duty of Americans at the Present Crisis." He made it clear that one of the duties of Americans was to destroy every vestige of Jacobinism lingering on in America five years after the worst excesses had been committed in France. By the Jacobins Dwight very certainly meant the Jeffersonians. After describing the worst excesses of 1793 he lashed out in a bitter attack which clearly implied that he believed the Jeffersonian Republicans were about to inaugurate in New Haven a local September massacre to be accompanied by the overthrow of liberty and the worship of the goddess of reason.

> For what ends shall we be connected with men, of whom this is the character and conduct? . . . Is it, that our churches may become temples of reason, our Sabbath a decade, and our psalms of praise Marseillois hymns? Is it, that we may change our holy worship into a dance of Jacobin phrenzy, and that we may behold a strumpet personating a Goddess on the altar of Jehovah? Is it, that we may see the Bible cast into a bonfire? . . . Is it, that we may see our wives and daughters the victims of legal prostitution; soberly dishonoured; speciously polluted; the outcasts of delicacy and virtue, and the lothing of God and man? . . . Shall we, my brethren, become partakers of these sins? Shall we introduce them into our government, our schools, our families? Shall our sons become the disciples of Voltaire, and the dragoons of Marat; or our daughters the concubines of the Illuminati?[16]

Mention of the Illuminati by Dwight in 1798 followed the line taken in a more sweeping charge made shortly before by Jedidiah Morse that this secret society which, it was alleged, had been chiefly responsible for having

[16] Timothy Dwight, *The Duty of Americans at the Present Crisis,* pp. 20, 21.

brought on the French Revolution and which had for its ultimate aim the overthrow of all established governments and religions, had many adherents within the Masonic lodges in the United States. Both Dwight and Morse relied on an English work by a man named John Robison, entitled *Proof of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe.* The particular Society of the Illuminati described by Robison certainly had not existed since 1784, but the cold facts were not then available and in their absence Dwight made the flat assertion: "Illuminatism exists in this country; and the impious mockery of the Sacramental Supper, described by Professor Robison, has been acted here." [17]

As for the close relation between contemporary events and the Revelation of St. John, Dwight was much more specific than most of his eminent clerical colleagues. The year 1798, he believed, was very close to the end of the sixth vial described in Revelation 16:12. Into the period of this vial Dwight fitted such events as the suppression of the Jesuits in all the leading European countries, the attacks on the Catholic Church and the curtailing of the revenues of the pope, and the overthrow of the French monarchy, one of the leading supports of the papal power. The beast and the false prophet were to be understood as the pope and the Catholic clergy. The unclean spirits mentioned in the chapter were evidently the false teachers in the Catholic countries, specifically the philosophers and encyclopædists of France. The writer of the book of Revelation had not merely forecast such world shaking movements as the French Revolution but had minutely indicated for those who were able to interpret this obscure portion of Holy Writ such events as the appropriation of the French academy by the philosophers and the devilish and insidious propaganda of the Society of the Illuminati whom Dwight characterized as atheistical, anarchical, communistic, licentious, and jesuitical. The complete destruction of papal Babylon, the city of Rome, might now be momentarily expected. Following that event Christ would return to earth and the glorious day of God's elect, the millennium, would immediately come.[18]

Ten years later, Timothy Dwight was still interpreting the signs of the times. In a sermon delivered at the opening of the Andover Theological Seminary, September 28, 1808, he asserted:

> The period is hastening; the morning star will soon arise which will usher in that illustrious day, destined to scatter the darkness of this melancholy world, and cover the earth with light and glory; the second birthday of truth, righteousness, and salvation. Soon shall the church awake and put on strength. . . . Soon shall she behold God coming with vengeance, even our God with a recompense, to save her from her enemies. Soon shall peace be extended to her as a river; and the

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 32 (concluding note).
[18] *Ibid., passim.*

glory of the Gentiles as a flowing stream. The Jews provoked to jealousy, and roused from the torpor of eighteen centuries shall behold a standard lifted up among the nations, and an ensign among the people, summoning them again to the land of their fathers, and to the kingdom of God.[19]

The subject of the Illuminati was for at least the second time the prevalent theme of a sermon delivered by Jedidiah Morse (1761-1826) of Charlestown, Massachusetts, on April 25, 1799. Morse is probably best remembered today as the father of Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph. But Morse in 1799 was in his own right famous as one of the disciples of the younger Jonathan Edwards, as pastor of one of the leading Congregational Churches in the area of Boston, and as the father of American geography. "Always thinking, always writing, always talking, always acting," Morse was one of the most indefatigable promoters of all sorts of religious and benevolent enterprises of his or any period in American history. Like Timothy Dwight, he viewed with alarm the machinations of the French. Somewhat more specific than Dwight's were his charges against the Illuminati. He claimed that a branch of this nefarious organization existed in Virginia under the guise of a Masonic lodge, a secret offshoot of the Grand Orient Masons of France. As for the Illuminati, it seems that the Society had originated in Bavaria in 1776. Its founder was a certain Adam Weishaupt of Ingolstadt. The purpose, as already stated, was the overthrow of all religions and governments. The branch in Virginia had for its aim the overthrow of the government of the United States.

In a "Discourse delivered before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America," November 1, 1810, Morse indicated his general acceptance of the prevalent belief in the proximity of the end of the age. The rule of Antichrist would end by 1866. By Antichrist he meant not only the pope but the sultan of Turkey. Both the Western and the Eastern antichristian systems had originated in the year 606. The forty-two months of Rev. 11:2 and the "time, times, and half a time" of Dan. 12:7 meant 1,260 years. This number was derived by multiplying forty-two by thirty or by multiplying three and a half by three hundred and sixty. In this way both of these mysterious passages were made to yield the same result, thus putting the seal of mathematical precision on two otherwise difficult passages of Scripture. On this point there was a remarkable unanimity among the students of the prophetic books. But not all were agreed on the year 606 as the beginning of the rule of Antichrist. It was asserted by those who accepted that year that Boniface III was the first truly Roman Catholic pope.

The belief that the reign of Antichrist was nearly over was by no

[19] *The Panoplist*, March, 1809, pp. 460, 461.

means confined to orthodox theologians who accepted the tenets of Calvinism generally, but was prevalent among the Unitarians and the Universalists as well. We have previously referred to the Unitarian Priestley who accepted without question the contemporary vogue of interpretation of obscure prophecy and its relation to current history. Likewise Elhanan Winchester (1751-1797), one of the leading Universalists of his generation, is remembered today, if at all, for a series of lectures which he delivered in Southwark, England, on the "Prophecies that remain to be fulfilled." Winchester's family had come from Wales to Boston, and he was born in Brookline, Massachusetts; he joined a Baptist church at Canterbury, Connecticut, and was ordained as a Baptist minister at the age of nineteen. He had very little formal education, but his memory was considered remarkable, and the Bible was his favorite reading. He very soon became one of the foremost Baptist clergymen in New England. He travelled extensively through the South where he had considerable success as an evangelistic preacher. His conversion to Universalism seems to have resulted from reading the literature of this sect while in the South during the American Revolution. Upon his return to New England he openly espoused the Universalist cause but had little success at first in winning converts. Then in 1780 he went to Philadelphia, still a Baptist clergyman, and sought to win over the Baptists there to his new position. He succeeded only in splitting the congregation and was finally excluded from the meeting house. Thereafter he used the hall of the University of Pennsylvania as a gathering place for his group which comprised about half of his former Baptist members. He received no stated salary, was five times married, and has been described as slovenly in habits and dress. In 1787 he suddenly announced to his congregation in Philadelphia that he was leaving the country in order to go to England. It was not his intention to seek the advancement of a denomination of Universalists but rather to win over to that doctrinal position the denominations that were already in existence, especially Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians. He was received in England without any perceptible enthusiasm but seems gradually to have increased his fame and in due time was asked to deliver a series of lectures on the prophecies. After six years in England Winchester disappeared. It seems he had fled from his wife and finally arrived in Boston with his prestige considerably diminished. In 1794 he wrote an answer to Paine's *Age of Reason.* He once again became the pastor of the Universalists of Philadelphia, and while there became acquainted with Joseph Priestley. He left Philadelphia in 1796 and went to Hartford, Connecticut, where he died a year later. His creed of Universalism was not the extreme form advocated by James Relly, but he rather held to a belief in a sort of future purgatory in which the

wicked would be punished but ultimately restored so that all mankind would be saved.

Winchester, like Priestley, was a premillenarian. As a student of Scripture he sought to coördinate the obscure prophecies with the history of Christendom. For instance, he understood the passage which reads "The four angels were loosed, who had been prepared for the hour and day and month and year that they might kill the third part of men" (Rev. 9:15) to mean the rise of the Turkish Empire and its duration for 391 years and 15 days. In the year 1281 the Turks had taken the city of Kutahi from the Greeks and in the year 1672 Mohammed IV had captured Cameniac from the Poles. Exactly 391 years and 15 days had transpired between these two historical events, and this fact, he believed, ought to constitute a powerful refutation of those infidels who were scoffing at the historical accuracy of the Bible. Both Daniel and the author of the book of Revelation had described in considerable detail the cruelty of the Turks (Dan. 11:40-45; Rev. 9:13-21). Since 1672 the Turkish power had been on the decline. Its end could not be far away, he believed.[20]

While the year 606 was the date accepted by the majority of the writers in this field as the most acceptable for the rise of the papacy, there were some who were not entirely satisfied with it. Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803) of Newport, Rhode Island, wrote among other things "A Treatise on the Millennium," in which he claimed that the pope had really come into partial power in 257 A.D. Adding to 257 the all but universally accepted period of 1,260 years for its duration, one would discover a remarkable corroboration of the veracity of the Bible because the sum, 1,517, corresponds exactly with the date when Martin Luther nailed the famous ninety-five theses on the church door at Wittenberg. The year 1517 therefore marks the beginning of the end of Antichrist's rule. But Hopkins did not altogether reject the date 606 as the date when the papacy reached its culmination. That would indicate that somewhere between 1517 and 1866 the papacy must be destroyed. The millennium might be expected to begin in 1866. This seemed to correspond with another method of calculation then in vogue, namely, that which sought to discover just when the six thousandth year after creation might be expected. There were many difficulties to be overcome because by no means all the biblical scholars were willing to accept the chronology so laboriously worked out by Archbishop Usher. At any rate the signs of the times indicated clearly that the coming half century was destined to be one of the most significant periods of human history.[21]

[20] Elhanan Winchester, *A Course of Lectures on the Prophecies that remain to be fulfilled*, Vol. 1, p. 137.

[21] Samuel Hopkins, *A Treatise on the Millennium* in *Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 16-62.

The Treatise on the Millennium was written before the rise of Napoleon to power in France, but one of Hopkin's disciples, Stephen West, wrote "A Serious Address to Professing Christians," in 1805, in which he said: "A number of able expositors who have carefully consulted the most learned and credible historians who lived in those times have made it evident that the events predicted under the first four vials took place before the Reformation from popery by Luther and Calvin." The fifth vial, according to West, had been poured out between 1517 and the end of the seventeenth century. The sixth vial began to be poured out at the beginning of the eighteenth century and was continuing in an intensified form during the contemporary revolutionary and Napoleonic era. The beast of Daniel was, of course, the pope. The mixing of clay and iron in the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's image was evidently meant to foreshadow the Concordat between Bonaparte and the pope in 1801. The drying up of the river Euphrates mentioned in the book of Revelation meant the decline of the Catholic Church in Europe.[22]

The members of the numerous missionary societies which were being formed before the first missionaries were sent to foreign lands were continually being reminded that the times through which they were passing were unusually significant. One of the earliest of these societies was the one started in New York. In a sermon preached before that body in 1799 John H. Livingston said:

> Whatever may be the period from which the rise of Antichrist is to be dated, it is evident his usurpations and tyranny are drawing to a close. . . . The vials of wrath are now pouring upon those nations which gave their aid and support to the man of sin. The desolations of war, the revolutions, terror, and convulsions, unrecorded before in history, announce the approach of some period, new and interesting. . . . Another Pentecost will awaken the churches and amaze the world. The cruel conflict which must terminate in killing the witnesses (see Revelation 11:7), can afford the adversary but a short triumph. . . . The Jews are ready to hail their own Messiah, and all the ends of the earth will see the salvation of God.[23]

Five years later Livingston returned to the same subject in another sermon before the same New York Missionary Society. The problem as he saw it was to calculate the exact date when the reign of Antichrist began. Whatever date was accepted it was certain, he believed, that the millenium must begin before 2000 A.D. The order of future events was to be as follows: 1. The punishment of the nations who aided Antichrist in murdering the servants of God. That was clearly under way at the time he was speaking. 2. The conversion of the Jews and their return to Palestine. It was widely believed that the more favorable treatment of

[22] Stephen West, *Sketches of the Life of the Late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D.*, pp. 171-191.
[23] John H. Livingston, "The Glory of the Redeemer," a sermon preached before the New York Missionary Society, April 23, 1799, pp. 45-47.

the Jews by the leaders of the French Revolution would soon eventuate in their conversion to Christianity and their return to their homeland. 3. The fullness of the Gentiles. The many evidences of a renewed interest in missions to distant lands were cited. 4. The destruction of Antichrist. Livingston like so many others accepted the dual personality of Antichrist. He was thus understood as being the pope and the caliph of the Mohammedans. The French Revolution was to be understood as a divinely directed cataclysm designed to hasten the fulfillment of the promises of the Bible. "To the fulfilment of these promises," he said, "it is necessary that the Gospel be sent to every nation in the world. . . . This time, we believe, has arrived." [24]

One of the editors of the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* after reviewing the important events of the year 1801 goes on to say:

> So far as we can understand the signs of the times, the days which are to come will be days of trouble. Iniquity remarkably abounds and the love of many waxeth cold. New, strange, and licentious doctrines almost everywhere are broached; and God will visit for these things. The man of sin though supported by consuls [evidently referring to the Concordat between Bonaparte and the pope] and kings must totally fall; the Turkish Empire must be broken, and the long arrears of blood must be paid. Though there may be a short calm, the storm will be gathering, and the earth yet be more terribly shaken.[25]

The General Assembly's Missionary Magazine, the organ of the Presbyterian Church, in its issue of March, 1806, reprinted an interesting exposition of the prophecy of Daniel, which had appeared a short time before in an English periodical, the *Christian Observer.* Commenting on the probable meaning of the term "the king of the north," which is used in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, the writer suggests the idea that Great Britain may have been in the mind of the inspired seer. Another interpretation, however, would seem to identify Napoleon as the northern king. At any rate, with due caution as to just how to fit in all the details, it was certain that prophecy had the period of the Revolution and Napoleon in view.

In September, 1809, John B. Romeyn delivered two sermons in the Presbyterian church of Albany, New York, on a special day set apart by the General Assembly for fasting, humiliation, and prayer. He believed that Revolutionary France had indeed been a terrible instrument in the hands of God to chastise mystical Babylon, the Catholic Church. The French, however, were not to be singled out for praise for their actions, any more than Sennacherib was to be lauded for having punished the Jews for their sins in the days of King Hezekiah. The papacy was

[24] John H. Livingston, sermon before the New York Missionary Society, April 3, 1804, p. 31; cf. pp. 18-24.

[25] *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine,* January, 1802, p. 247.

scheduled to last 1,260 years, but it was not certain just when the Catholic Church had really begun. England was suffering for having shed blood of so many Protestants in the days of the Stuarts; still it was to be hoped that "the expulsion of that deluded family and the establishment of a toleration since the Revolution [of 1688] have wiped away her guilt." Romeyn went on to say that England had been the only national witness for truth in Europe during the period before the French Revolution. Napoleon was the eighth head of the Roman beast. The beast would soon slay the two witnesses, and the power of the Catholic hierarchy would again be great, but it would not endure long. In fact the Catholic Church had already been reëstablished in some parts of Europe, notably in France, the Rhenish Confederation, Holland, and Switzerland. This period would last fifty years, but it was now nearly over. Perhaps the dread events were about to begin which would usher in the millennium.[26]

The most ambitious and probably the most scholarly treatises on the subject of Scriptural prophecy which appeared during the first quarter of the nineteenth century were the books of George S. Faber, an Anglican clergyman, vicar of Stockton-on-Tees, near Durham, England. Two of his important works were reprinted in Boston, the former entitled *A Dissertation on the Prophecies that have been fulfilled, are now fulfilling: or will hereafter be fulfilled.* The full title of the second book will serve as a description of its contents, being *A General and Connected View of the Prophecies, relative to the Conversion, Restoration, Union, and Future Glory of the Houses of Judah and Israel; the progress and final overthrow of the Antichristian Confederacy in the land of Palestine; and the ultimate general Diffusion of Christianity.* No less than forty-four prophecies were scrutinized and expounded to show that Antichrist would invade the Near East and oppose the return of the converted Jews, but that some maritime power, hostile to Antichrist, would thwart his efforts.[27]

The views of Priestley and Dwight, of Hopkins and Winchester, of Morse and Faber were elaborated and reiterated through an almost endless cycle of sermons and magazine articles and must have constituted one of the most stimulating forms of intellectual diversion in the American homes of the early nineteenth century. The French Revolution, coinciding as it did with the appearance of the first missionary magazines in the United States, was everywhere regarded as a veritably supernatural occurrence. The earthly utopia of the eighteenth century philosophers had proved to be Robespierre's Reign of Terror and the despotism of Napoleon. To religious leaders this was sufficient reason why all attempts of man to set up a millennium on earth must inevitably be futile. But there was another and more certain millennium, that which biblical proph-

[26] *The Panoplist*, May, 1809.
[27] George S. Faber, *General and Connected View of the Prophecies*, pp. 163-170.

ecy had long before outlined. The French Revolution had rendered the American clergy a double service. It had conformed sufficiently to the pattern outlined in the obscure apocalyptic passages to enable the theologians of the period to assert, as they did, that the whole movement was the unfolding of a divine plan for man, and at the same time the excesses of the Revolution and the reaction which had followed were cited as the best possible refutation of the teachings of the infidel philosophers. After their first fears lest the very foundations of society were being swept away had subsided, the crusaders of the early nineteenth century returned to the attack against the enemies of the faith with redoubled zeal. And in these attacks it frequently happened that Federalist political opinions were voiced as though they too were part and parcel of the divine plan of government for America. The earth-shaking events which occurred between 1789 and 1815 led only naturally to a renewed study of the more obscure passages of Holy Writ. Thus was rediscovered the millennium just as had happened in previous major crises of history. This rediscovery of the supposed proximity of the millennium afforded an opportunity to supplant the secular millennium of the enlightenment and to oppose to it the chiliastic utopia of the books of Daniel and Revelation. This emphasis on the millennium was destined to be an important factor in helping to hasten the era of humanitarian reform in America.

THE MAN NEGLECTED BY SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

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THE DEVELOPMENT of the present war has awakened us to the political reality of ethical issues. We are witnessing daily the open indictment of moral indifference—a new phenomenon in our time. How few men have had the temerity, since the last war, to declare moral issues! Had we not learned that the real causes of political aims were economic, that morality was simply a justification of economic advantages and disadvantages? Hitler's disregard of moral values has made us reconsider the forces which govern our lives.

There have been many expressions of this concern for moral action, notably perhaps in the voices raised against the self-centredness of young people who refused to take the war seriously enough. Isolationists and interventionists have spared little energy in condemning each other for moral callousness. Everybody knows, or fears, that there is something vital lacking, but the source of our weakness is not easy to locate.

It may be that we can gain an enlightening perspective on our predicament if we see it through the conflict of two theories of human motivation which have been in competition especially during the last hundred years. The review and analysis here contemplated will be oversimplified, but designed to throw some light on emphases in our present culture which need to be counterbalanced as we develop and teach a more adequate conception of the whole man.

I

The first view of human motivation is an offspring of a certain so-called scientific attitude toward human behavior. I shall call it the mechanistic or behavioristic bias. On this view the explanation of human behavior is to be found not within the wishes, desires, or ideals of men, but in the environment which surrounds them and causes these particular modes of action. Man does not choose the environment; the environment chooses him. Hence the problem is to create the kind of environment in which the particular kind of human being we want can flourish.

Of course, the importance of heredity is not overlooked by these breeders of men. But given a normal human inheritance, or a fair amount of information about abnormal heredity, they are confident that the problem is to find the proper soil for the cultivation of inborn abilities.

To be sure, there are a few recalcitrants who insist that heredity is everything, but these join their opponents in the point to be noticed. On either view the powers which shape man are beyond the control of his will. Indeed, his will is an effect of his development and not a cause; it too has been molded by the interaction of heredity and environment.

How understandable all this seems! There is no mystery left in this crystalline explanation. The only cause for lamentation is our imperfect knowledge of the ingredients which enter man's make-up. We must realize, of course, that man is higher than the animal. His ability to articulate his experience in words and sentences makes it possible for him to transmit his culture to his children. But fundamentally men and mice are amenable to the same type of explanation! We must not modify our explanatory formula for the man who, having devoted his best years to science and philosophy, turns in his last days to music and literature. His development, like the animal's, is a response to the strongest stimuli affecting his organism. Our problem is to measure environmental stimuli, and to relate them in quantitative ways to the effects they have on the human beings.

This explanation of human activity is a parallel, in the human sphere, of the explanations given by physical scientists of the clockwork of nature. The *faith* with which these scientists are imbued, consciously or unconsciously, is that every effect in the physical world can be correlated entirely with surrounding forces. Hence, the presence of the cause presages a specific effect. If that effect is not forthcoming, not the universe but man is wrong! The best human analogy for the universe, according to this faith, is a perfect machine whose intricacies, even though their secret be never ferreted out by the human mind, are nevertheless controlled by immutable laws.

This, to repeat, is a faith, for it certainly cannot be demonstrated with mathematical certainty, nor is it amenable to the kind of control exacted for typical scientific experiments. Such faith has borne much fruit in human dealings with nature, and for many practical purposes has justified itself. But sometimes nothing fails like success, and this, it would seem, is what took place when the zealots of science invaded the area of human experience, boldly, confidently, unwarily!

For scientific conclusions are widely acclaimed and accepted because the processes and conditions from which they result are repeatable and public. The doubter can always be confronted with events which more than one person can observe and check. The procedure in science is always so tangible! Even the most reasonable and consistent beliefs must bow before controlled and repeatable observation.

It is not surprising therefore that this faith, this formula, this pro-

cedure, should be tried in the study of human experience by psychologists and social scientists. In itself, if used as a finder and not as a mold into which human experiences had to fit by hook or by crook, it could have been an even greater boon to man. But the faith became a dogma, the formula became an inviolable, universal method, and the problems solved were those which lent themselves most readily to the tangibility of scientific procedure. After all, one had to practice with a new technique, in a new field, on simple problems until one got the hang of it!

It was much easier to study the simplified learning of white rats, the habit-formation of a typist, than the factors involved in creative imagination and thought. The emotions and motives of men, their prejudices and their longings as individuals, the processes of character-formation, and the ingredients of religious and æsthetic experience resisted the controls which the scientific mind exacted. Many of the deepest and most significant human experiences, like love, cowardice, exaltation, frustration, elude the analytic gaze; they do not stop to pose, and if they did, they would no longer be themselves. The observers had to content themselves, therefore, not with the inner core of these experiences but with whatever was exposed to their view. If a man's motives were hidden, his behavior, his physiological processes, the environment in which he lived were much more amenable to scientific procedure. These were scientific tangibles; of these we could be sure. These we could control. The best we could do, therefore, was to study these observable tangibles.

Practically, therefore, our western civilization was led to emphasize the scientific tangibles of life, those forces more easily observed and more capable of public approval and agreement. The factors in human happiness now stressed were not intangible inner resources of the spirit but the more accessible biological necessities, educational techniques, and social organizations. How much we have heard about the social and economic basis of human security!

It is no wonder that our children now talk about making an income as opposed to earning a wage. Our scholastic orientation is toward finding a vocation regardless—as if the bread of life was assured once the means of subsistence were acquired. Again, the important thing now is to have a good personality, to get along with people—in other words, be a good stimulus and induce favorable responses to yourself in others.

Character was so hidden a reality that we replaced it by "personality" and approached the person from the observable exterior. Hence, we encouraged artfulness instead of graciousness, and manners instead of "small morals" as they were once called. Why have we not stressed with equal conviction that economic security was by no means an adequate foundation of human happiness, that biological necessities were not the

basis of spiritual growth? We knew this when we reflected calmly; we know it today as we see nations economically insecure, but willing to sacrifice, threatening the vaunted security of wealthier countries. Was it because sacrifice, kindness, love, forgiveness were uncontrollable intangibles whose tangible roots were to be found in biological and economic necessities? Was it because we felt that the fruit of the spirit would take care of itself once men were insured against starvation and want? Or was it because our very mechanistic faith decreed by implication that what could not be dealt with by our methodology was not important or was to be taken with a grain of salt? One day our methodology would catch up with these so-called spiritual forces, superstition would be exposed, and we would enter the heaven of our scientific dream. When we said that good religion was not incompatible with good science, did we mean that religion was good only when it was consistent with scientific standards of truth? Were we not really declaring the subjugation of religious experience to scientific norms, thus neutralizing it until we could incorporate its "truth" into our scientific commonwealth?

The protest implied in the foregoing is not against scientific method and science, but against the errors of overweening men, men who destroyed the spirit of science as they lifted its standards high. One does not blame a sharp sickle when it cuts graceful tulips as well as tall grass. Nor is criticism levelled at the various social securities and techniques of guidance which have an undeniable place in creating human happiness and effectiveness. But one must protest when the assumptions of science become the assumptions of life in its totality.

The standards of scientific success are not necessarily the prerequisites of success in the art of living. What scientific procedure cannot test does not thereby fade in significance. Scientific dogmatism is no better than religious dogmatism. Invade every aspect of human experience if we will; exempt neither love, nor guilt, nor piety, nor any human aspiration! But if attempts in observing and controlling such experiences do not yield scientific assurance, let us not pooh-pooh these experiences and walk by on the other side, hugging our precise instruments and mumbling our scientific rosary! Let us rather render to things mechanical, whether in nature or in human experience, the service scientific method can offer. There is our legitimate stronghold as scientists. But let us not expurgate the purposive and volitional aspects of human nature simply because these concepts are "scientifically fruitless."

One need not go far to find a concrete example of this scientific offense against the whole man. The average textbook in general psychology purports to introduce the reader to man as the science of psychology sees him. The premium is put upon "objective facts," the

products of scientific experiment. The result is that the student reads many pages on physiology, sensation, biological and social drives, perception, and thought, but is hardly introduced to the concept of moral obligation, freedom of will, religious and æsthetic experience. If this is the course which is to introduce the student to man's nature, and in our day courses in philosophy and ethics or religion are not encouraged, how incomplete is the impression of man the student carries away with him! Concepts like free will, purpose, moral obligation, are exceedingly difficult to study objectively, and the student is constantly reminded of the difficulties of introspection from the scientific point of view. Thus, in the name of science the student is exposed to a mere segment of man.

How much more truly scientific it would be to admit that certain areas of experience, such as will and purpose, do not conform to the pattern needed for accurate scientific investigation! Instead of disparaging experience that does not conform to the scientific pattern, it would seem more accurate to notice the limitations involved in the scientific faith and procedure. We do not lose the tangibles by emphasizing the reality of intangibles. At the same time we do not run the risk of minimizing influences and motives in human experience which are of enormous consequence in everyday life.

Yet, whatever its specific sources, the harm seems to have been done. The mechanistic conception of human action, in excluding less tangible purposive and inner forces, leads to the looting of human nature and to moral bankruptcy. For in conceiving of man as a being created by forces external to his will, we discourage contemplation of him as a being who receives his environment *only to re-create and revise it* if he will. Man the fated discourages man the chooser. Destiny replaces Utopia. Scientific tangibles crowd out more mysterious but dynamic intangibles. The cultural atmosphere becomes saturated with norms and objectives which encourage a psychological deëmphasis on those factors in human nature and society which cannot be measured and which the scientific mind cannot utter without gagging. Values, beauty, moral freedom, goodness, holiness become not the lodestars of a culture, but take their place on the intellectual blacklist until their "truth" is weighed scientifically. Values, all values, become means to ends; they are true if they work, if they produce other values which in turn lead to further goods, just as any good scientific hypothesis does.

And here the implicit logic and psychology of the whole movement come into full exposure. Instead of striving for values as ends which in and of themselves dignify the human struggle for survival, we choose values because they work. But how shall we judge what works and what does not work? Being at a loss for an adequate criterion, we surrepti-

tiously introduce or take for granted a certain set of values. The very intangibles which our scientific dogmatism expurgated come back to haunt us when we ask: Why science?

However, we invited more than theoretical difficulties when we relegated more ultimate, intangible values to the realm of superstition-to-be-vanquished. We thereby encouraged lesser, conventional values or those immediately consistent with our enquiries. Thus, we come to a crisis in history when men are sure that they want to go on living but are relatively ignorant or naïve about the values worth living and dying for. In our resulting intellectual climate, the immediate satisfactions, the more public testables of life, have attained supremacy. Moral and purely intellectual objectives, which are almost invariably long-run, slowly developed affairs, became rationalizations and not reasons for actions. The result is that today we need *morale*—don't let it sound too much like morality! Today the man who wields the scientific instrument of death is surer of its immediate values in economic terms than he is of those other esoteric values like freedom to think, to be moral, to worship. Yet we know that a man sincerely convinced that the right is on his side does, other things being equal, become a better fighter owing to some intangible effect of an intangible influence. His scientific gadgets get deserted, his political position is easily substituted, if they are only instruments to insure convenience and economic security.

If the war has done nothing else, it has brought us back to the realization of the interconnection of tangibles, predictables, and intangibles or imponderables. To be sure, the tank will mow down the soldier with the tommy gun regardless of his inner zeal and fortitude. Nevertheless, the difference between two bombers depends upon the qualities of character which inspire the men at the controls. We are none the worse for the loss of moral sentimentality, but we are not recognizing all the facts of experience when we intimate that morality is mere sentiment.

II

The alternative philosophy of action, shared by Platonists in the ancient world and especially by Christians since, may be called purposive, or moral and religious in emphasis. In this theory of motivation, the concepts of man and of his environment are both enlarged and refined. The fundamental stress falls not on the creation of an environmental fit for a complicated animal, but on the creation of a person able to appreciate and enjoy an intangible but very real world. Insofar as man is an animal, his body is to be well-nourished by adequate food and exercise. But insofar as he is capable of reason and morality, he will find complete

satisfaction only in scholarliness, humility, courage, temperance, sacrifice, generosity, beauty, love, and holiness. The potentiality for these values being present in man's nature, their realization depends on man's willingness to discipline himself.

Critical religion has always insisted that the best way to change a man is to change his heart, to modify his inner purposes. No matter how good the environment, objectively considered, is, a transformation must take place within the man's will. Once he determines to choose the good, his environment is already changed. Even if a bad physical and social environment cannot be changed, the effects of his exposure to them are modified by his new attitude toward life. He is no longer responsive to the mean and vulgar in them.

On this moral-religious view, then, a man's response is not due to fixed environmental stimuli. The environment may stimulate a man to action, but, except for a few automatic responses, the action is his action, dependent on the way he takes the stimuli. There are relatively few stimuli which are bad or good independent of his reaction to them. His head is perhaps bloody, but it does not bow unless he wills it. His environment is always, not stimuli, but open opportunities from which he may choose what will stimulate him and—within limits—in what way. Some environment he must have, but his responses do not depend completely on the environment but on his choice of the opportunities allowed there. A man makes his environment as much as it makes him.

If one asks, How change a man without changing environmental pressures? the answer is already implicit in what has been said. The purposivist does not deny that environmental pressures help to produce the change of heart, but he emphasizes not the environment but the man. He does not seek a good man in a good environment, but finds a good man and defines what the good environment is in terms of him. He defines the environment in terms of the man; he studies the state of the man's purposes and then suggests the pressures to be brought to bear. He knows that his task is never done unless the transformation of the environment actually produces a man who now goes on to create his own.

Beyond this he calls attention to the fact that man's nature is not called into full play by things styled "tangible"—whether "tangible" be given its scientific or everyday meaning. These externals certainly make a great difference in his life, but they lie beyond the citadel, and frequently obstruct the paths to it. In man, he contends, a completely new order of being and possibility was imposed upon the physiological framework, a realm of logical and mathematical consistency, of moral obligation as opposed to physical compulsion, of æsthetic joy and suffering, of worshipful contemplation. In man two worlds came together and two

natures confronted each other. He could become a conniving Machiavellian, a million times more depraved and dangerous than the worst animal, or a considerate Christian.

For religion, then, the crucial experiment is here, within the purposive spirit of man. Hence its concern with the inner man, its emphasis on choice, the regeneration of will. In these imponderables, hidden away from objective analysis, are the real treasures of life. If the inner struggle is not open to the vision of other men, suffice it that God knows the way in which the battle has raged. The important thing is not the victory in external terms, but the relative status of the evil and good in the life of the individual. As he improves, life takes on new meaning and a quiet joy which public approval in itself could not begin to give. Unless he uses good animal health and physical security as a base for spiritual adventure, unless his mind become sensitized to find its inspiration in the gentle grace of the lily, in the sublimity of the sky and ocean, in loyalty and sacrifice for goodness—such an one may have realized his animal heritage but he has not come into his own. For the real world on which a person must feed is not accessible to telescope and microscope. It is not already made for him. The individual creates it for himself through moral effort inspired by a vision of the world as God meant it to be—a spiritual kingdom, supported by the physical, but ruled by mercy and justice.

No wonder religion has asked men to commit themselves to scientific intangibles! Unless one commit himself to what might seem scientific absurdity *(credo quia absurdum est),* unless one be willing to tread where he cannot predict, one will never find the creative satisfaction in store for men. Man begins to create the deepest and most satisfying values the moment he commits his life to them. He is transformed and renewed by the ideals he imposes upon himself. He may be wrong about his faith; maybe neither he nor the universe is capable of the values he is trying to realize. But committed he stands to a faith in intangibles without which life loses meaning. In the realm of physical science he cannot go on without a faith in the unity and orderliness of nature. In the realm of moral and religious values he experiments with living, in the faith that there is an order of goodness capable of being achieved in, through, and beyond nature.

To be sure, crimes of the flesh and of the spirit have been committed in the process of religious and moral development. Religious aristocracy—and with it moral pride—is a subtle but contagious disease of the spirit. The mortification of the flesh and denial of the world become compensatory reactions to physical inferiority, or allow escape from tempting sins. If scientific preoccupation has led to the disparage-

ment of intrinsic values, religious motivation has too frequently narrowed the vision and shrunk the heart that did not expose itself to evil in the very attempt to achieve the good. Righteousness, so-called, may be pure enough to be sterile. But the pride of heart is no more tolerable than the pride of mind.

The last fifty years, however, have seen the climax of the reaction against religious sterility on the one hand, and moral intangibles on the other. In the name of objective truth, sincere thinkers have emphasized the difficulty of establishing religious and ethical claims in accordance with scientific method. But they were emotionally blind to the possibility that this approach was to be condemned and not the intangibles studied. The absolute of scientific method was heralded at the same time that religious, ethical, and æsthetic values were called in question. These values were relative to the tastes of the individual or of a particular society. There was really no use arguing about them. Morals and religious beliefs were private matters, and one showed almost a breach of manners in pursuing discussions of them. After all, what good could come from arguing about values which no scientific yardstick could measure?

So, under the guise of freedom, we encouraged the individual to follow his whim, "as long as he obeys the law." Tolerance was used as a rationalization of our unwillingness to orient our own minds and those of our children to those subjects which were "so intangible" and hard to teach with objectivity. Unwittingly we provided theoretical justification, in the name of science, for those practical and realistic souls who never had undertaken or were unwilling to undergo the self-discipline involved in determined, moral, and religious development. We emphasized self-expression without knowing which self to express, for the very notion that a standard might be found was anathema. How then could we avoid minds wised up to the techniques for getting along, but practically illiterate when it came to self-mastery or the enjoyment of values hidden from the market place?

Our fundamental problem, it would seem, does involve the improvement of the environment so that men everywhere can take advantage of the opportunities nature affords. Yet the task is just begun when the stomach is full, the bed soft, and the house air-conditioned. So tangible are these blessings, so immediate is the relief they offer, that they easily become stumblingblocks. We need to insist from the beginning that they are means and not ends, that a deeper and more enduring satisfaction waits *in* them if we can get beyond them. In our program of education emphasis must be placed on the need for men who can control their desires when nature is not kind, who will gird themselves to necessary suffering and sacrifice not resentfully but humbly and bravely.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ADVENTISM

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NOTWITHSTANDING its recurrent debacles in the field of prophetic prediction and its narrow reading of social forces and events, adventism is a persistent Christian phenomenon. Its present-day resurgence may be accounted for in part by the impact of major social and political developments upon the ancient Christian hope of a golden millennium to succeed a period of wars and turmoil. Yet this is not the full explanation. Adventism represents the stirring of a religious instinct deeply rooted in the Christian faith. Its continuance and current strengthening are of great significance for liberal Protestantism.

Adventism, as is well known, is the doctrine of the imminent second coming of Christ and his saints to rule over the earth in righteousness. This will come to pass, so the doctrine runs, when, as in the days of Noah, human self-sufficiency, wickedness, and false religion—every other religious faith but adventism—reach climactic proportions. Comparable to a negative or terrestrial electrical charge, wickedness will draw down the lightning of a positive or atmospheric electrical charge of divine retribution upon a warring, sinning, unbelieving, and persecuting world. The unbelieving will be converted or destroyed, and perpetual righteousness and plenty will be established upon a renewed earth.

This doctrinal persuasion goes hand in hand with, indeed it may be said to issue from, a literalistic rendering of the predictive and apocalyptic portions of the Bible. Present world events are interpreted in the light of their fulfillment of biblical prophecies, and the end of our age is freely predicted for the near future. Evangelistic efforts, by tireless indoctrination of the faithful and unceasing persuasion of the unbelieving, aim at the snatching of the largest possible number of individual souls from the path of judgment.

These features of adventism are familiar to all who have had any contact whatsoever with the group. (This group, it should be said, is comprised of a number of independent sects and large portions of some of the orthodox Protestant denominations, unified only in holding in general to the doctrine of adventism.) And such contact on the part of the enlightened or liberal—or even average—Protestant tends to result in a contemptuous dismissal of the whole movement as belonging to the lunatic fringe of an arrested religious development.

Yet despite the obvious sense of religious and cultural superiority with which we Protestants encounter adventism, there is something about

it which is often vaguely disturbing. Though we may easily demonstrate the repeated predictive failures of their prophets, point out their glaring distortions of historical fact and interpretation, laugh at their hundred-times revised calendar for the end of the world, and dismiss the whole as belonging to a crudely naïve point of view, we are still disturbed. We feel put on the defensive before such ardent zeal and intense conviction, as those who must defend themselves against the charge of having a less virile and convincing religious faith. We seem to hear in adventism the echo of something which our own faith lacks or has lost.

This disturbing sense of a lack is not without meaning. It bears witness, I think, to what is religiously significant in adventism, namely, its vivid sense of present divine activity. It proclaims that God is acting *now,* in the affairs of this mundane world, discernibly and concretely. He can be pointed out at work here, there, and yonder at specific places. Human history, says adventism, is adding up to some definite sum, is going somewhere. And the shaping up of that final destiny into the earthly kingdom of God is clearly evidenced to the faithful.

Now the point is not that adventism is either right in its reading of history or adequate in its remedial program, or, for that matter, that it *fails* at both points, as it obviously does. The point is that adventism has hold of an element of religious power which is largely lacking in modern Protestant life and doctrine: a philosophy of contemporary history and a sense of destiny. It is able to give its followers a sense of urgency about their efforts and a conviction of success which is missing among us. In a word: Adventism is important, not for what it is in itself nor for any immediately overwhelming threat to established church life, but for the fact that it thrives upon the religious weakness of modern Protestantism. It is like a tumor in the body religious due to dietary deficiency or organic unbalance.

I except Catholicism from this discussion, not because its foundations are eternally unshakable nor because there is no breakable glass in its house, but because for the Catholic his church's authority relieves him of any need to try to understand the world, and his church loyalty is for him the implicit realization of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore it is mainly from Protestant circles that adventists are recruited and adventism is Protestantism's peculiar disease.

The lack of a philosophy of history and of a sense of Christian destiny, so evident in modern Protestantism, is not due to any such lack in its original religious heritage. Older than Christianity itself is such a strain. The Hebrew prophets, from whom Christianity so largely gained its understanding of history, were notable for their social and political consciousness. We may, indeed, well and truly say that the

main contribution of the prophets to religious life was their infusion of social idealism into it—the moralization of worship. But we must also acknowledge that they found religious significance in their own contemporary social and political world. This world, especially the forces operative in its human part, gave them many of their insights into God's true character. They gained much of their consciousness of his holiness from their perception of his observable activity in that same social and political world. And it was this impression of the contemporary, "visible" activity of Yahweh, no less than their conviction of his moral holiness, which constituted their unquenchable zeal.

Christianity itself has always had the doctrinal basis for such a historically-minded zeal. Primitive Christianity was ever conscious of living at the end of the age and conceived itself to be the sole avenue for the coming of the new age. During the Middle Ages of Europe, when the adventist hope had declined, the fervor of the church was transformed into the need and hope of creating one great Christian society under the feudal supremacy of Rome. Inveighing against the doctrine of the overlordship of one great church, the Reformation set up two substitutes: the strong conviction of material responsibility and political destiny expressed by Calvinist groups; and the evangelical interpretation of the salvation of the individual soul as the transcendently important reality.

But modern Protestantism finds itself unable to cope with its contemporary world in religious terms. The forms of its old rationale have been broken, and it has been religiously too feeble to mold new ones. The doctrine of an eternal church no longer commands allegiance. It is doubtful whether it can be revived despite ecumenical movements, for Protestantism as a whole is uncertain of the exact nature of its organizational future. Nor is the old evangelical conviction that life is a Pilgrim's Progress of the individual soul from the City of Destruction to the Heavenly City still all-sufficient. Social realities have thrust themselves too forcibly upon our consciousness. And the Calvinistic sense of material responsibility to God has long since dissolved its religious connections.

Nor has Protestantism any longer a philosophy of history. Its definition and conviction of cosmic purpose are unclear and weak. God tends to retreat into the remote world of eternal and unchanging values, himself to become merely a devotional value or ideal. He is not readily discernible as an active historical force, and the only judgment with which sinners can now be threatened is "the judgment of history." Though adventism presents no historically recognizable portrait of our progress toward the kingdom of heaven, Protestantism hardly has a better one. Its substitute, evolutionary optimism, fails to allow room for divine judgment or possibility of retrogression.

The response of the modern Protestant Christian world to this situation has been threefold. First there is the reversion to the primitive adventist forms which we have already described. To many who have vaguely sensed the inability of liberalism to deal with the contemporary world in religious terms and who have been disappointed by the deistic flavor of much of its preaching, this point of view gives an attractive sense of the immediate reality of God, and a hope for the future in terms of his will, despite present evils.

The usual, middle-of-the-road response by the large majority of conventional Protestants has beeen a drifting in a generally moralistic direction. Conventional Protestantism has sought to make up for its metaphysical, social, and historical weakness by ethical refinement. By increasing its reserves of sweetness, light, tolerance, broad-mindedness, sociability, and religious sentimentality it has tried to compensate for its waning sense of destiny and lack of political program.

The other response has been a plunging into social and political reformist movements, more or less independent of organized religion but conceived to be realistic approximations of the transformation of the world into the kingdom of heaven. And here Protestants have found themselves at sea. These movements or areas in which, presumably, the Christian God of history might be actively engaged are as yet religiously undomesticated. Experience therein has left their religious-minded participants uncertain both as to the moral quality of these forces with which they have allied themselves and whether the shape of the world to be achieved thereby would bear much resemblance to the Christian kingdom of God.

All three responses are, of course, confessions of failure. Adventism has no solution to any human problem of social magnitude except debacle and catastrophic judgment, oft-threatened but never come. Conventional Protestantism represents a decadent religious individualism without hold upon social realities. Groups which stress social action often lose any deep religious conviction, with which they may have started, of being workers together with God or of the reality of any transcendent cosmic purpose.

Is there no help for this weakness born of confusion? Yes, but only by a reconstitution of Protestant life and thought. Any such reconstitution must be of the nature of a synthesis of many diverse currents under the religious ægis. The function of religion is to unify the elements of its contemporary intellectual, cultural, and social life into a comprehensive system of loyalties centring in some apprehension of the divine reality. Our central deficiency is the lack of the sense of a living God which is strong enough to unify the rest of our life under its terms.

Until a new and pervading consciousness of God becomes regnant among us, our world will continue to fall apart on our hands, and religion will have little integrative power for its people. Our devotion to God will need to have the deep inward strength of the old personal evangelical religion at its best, coupled with social convictions as broad and as deep as the needs and problems of man.

So also the whole subject of the relationship of God to the world must be thoroughly rethought. The elements of our thought of God in his relation to the world and human life tend to separate like oil and water into unconnected halves: moral and spiritual ideals, subjectively created, on the one hand, and the objective world of matter or force, on the other. A vital religion, however, is a living union of precisely these two aspects in one core of faith. The term *God* means that union. Therefore our perception of the activity of God in his world must be broad enough to include the operation of widely diverse forces in nature and society, not simply the specifically religious, and yet be intense enough to unify them under a full Christian sense of the transcendent purpose and character of God.

Especially is there need for a new doctrine of divine judgment, or at least a thorough overhauling of traditional doctrines, until we can approximate the prophetic doctrine in clarity and central conviction. Such a doctrine would largely replace the apocalyptic degeneracy of adventism. It would not deal with dubious prediction gained from an astrologic reading of signs, omens, and times, but would be able to proclaim and define intelligently the main directions of God's justice and to make the conception of divine judgment concrete by specific references. In a word: The Protestant Christian must again gain the faith that God is active, concretely and tangibly, in the world of human history. This is the lesson which adventism has to teach us.

To suggest the need of such a reconstitution of doctrine on a comprehensive scale and to achieve it are vastly different things. There is no guarantee that it will come to pass. But when and if we can understand the need for it, and when and if the many scattered labors in that direction can come to unified fruition, then perhaps a new and reviving sense of destiny, having little to do with organizational futures and much to do with the discernment and identification of ourselves with the will of God, will break forth in power upon Christian people and enable them to re-create the world.

PRESENT TASKS FOR OLD TESTAMENT SCHOLARS

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Old Testament research is dominated by fashions. Its present phase, particularly in the United States, is marked by a decline of philological and critical investigation and the prevalence of more alluring methods of study. We are dazzled by the brilliance of archæological discoveries—*ex oriente lux!* Biblical literary criticism has been generally discarded in favor of the *Formgeschichte,* which determines the literary genres, and the *Stoffgeschichte,* which investigates their origins in the oral tradition and their *Sitz im Leben,* or place in the daily life of the people. Sporadically, the methods of other branches of knowledge have also been adopted in the study of the Old Testament: sociology (J. Pedersen, *Israel,* 2 vols., 1926, Vols. 3 and 4 [in Danish], 1934; L. Wallis, *God and the Social Progress,* 1935; A. Causse, *Du groupe éthnique à la communauté religieuse,* 1937; L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees,* 1938), æsthetics and ethnology (D. B. Macdonald, *The Hebrew Literary Genius,* 1933), comparative philology (A. S. Yahuda, *The Language of the Pentateuch in its Relation to Egyptian,* 1933), comparative religious ritual (W. O. E. Oesterley, *Sacrifices in ancient Israel,* 1937; S. H. Hooke, *The Origin of early Semitic Ritual,* 1938), comparative folklore (J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament,* 3 vols., 1919), comparative mythology (S. H. Hooke, editor, *Myth and Ritual,* 1933; F. Dornseiff, in *Zeitschr. f. d. Alttest. Wiss.,* 1934, 1935, 1937), psychology (H. W. Hines, in *Journ. of Relig.,* VIII [1928], pp. 212-224; S. Mowinckel, in *Acta Orientalia,* XIII [1935], pp. 264-291), and psychoanalysis (A. Allwohn, *Die Ehe des Propheten Hosea in psychoanalitischer Beleuchtung,* 1926; S. Freud, *Moses and Monotheism,* 1939). Used in moderation, such methods may be fruitful in historical and literary research.

For purposes of clarity we may subdivide the vast field of Old Testament research into nine segments, although no hard and fast lines of demarcation separate them and they all, like members of a body, contribute to the organic development of the whole and of its single parts.

1. *Palestine research* was inaugurated a century ago by an American, Edward Robinson (1794-1863); see the articles of J. A. Bewer, F. M. Abel, A. Alt, and W. F. Stinespring in the *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.,* XLVIII (1939), pp. 355-387. Since then innumerable publications on the geology, physical geography, topography, climate, flora, and fauna of Palestine have appeared; they are listed, for the years from 1895 to 1934, in Peter

Thomsen's monumental bibliography, *Die Palästina-Literatur* (5 vols., 1908-1938).

We need, however, a new geography of Palestine in English, for the classical work of George A. Smith *(Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* 25th ed., 1932)—unobtainable at present—is inevitably antiquated. The only good recent book on the subject is in French: F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* 2 vols., 1933 and 1938.

2. Archæology. The lure of archæology for Old Testament scholars began seventy years ago, when George Smith discovered in the British Museum the Babylonian story of the Flood. Through passing fads and changing fashions, this fascination has continued unabated and now is a dominant factor in the work of most Old Testament scholars. Pan-Babylonianism (inaugurated by Friedrich Delitzsch in his famous lectures on *Babel und Bibel,* in 1902-03) and pan-Amurrism (sponsored by the late Albert T. Clay) have faded into oblivion. New discoveries have focused the interest on the relation of the Egyptian, Hittite, Hurrian, and, last but not least, Ugaritic (Ras Shamra) cultures to the Old Testament.

Although the immense value of archæology for Old Testament study is manifest, we should not forget, in our enthusiasm, that the evaluation and utilization of archæological discoveries requires the greatest circumspection. As T. J. Meek has warned *(Journ. of Relig.,* XXI [1941], pp. 398-411), archæology "is still rated too highly" both *per se* and for biblical study.

Aside from written texts, few archæological finds have a direct bearing on the Bible. It therefore seems unfortunate that archæological discoveries should have been glibly adduced as proofs of the historical accuracy of biblical legends in such recent books as the following: J. G. Duncan, *New Light on Hebrew Origins* (1936); C. F. Parker, *Introduction to Genesis* (1936); Charles Marston, *The Bible Comes Alive* (1937); T. C. Innes, *Thrilling Voices of the Past* (1937); J. C. Muir, *His Truth Endureth* (1937); S. L. Caiger, *The Old Testament and Modern Discovery* (1938).

Such books, as also a well-intentioned but uncritical volume of Sir Leonard Woolley (*Abraham: Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins,* 1936), contribute nothing but misconceptions to biblical research. Fortunately the serious student can turn to more reliable recent publications (cf. the bibliography of J. P. Hyatt, in *Journ. of Bible and Relig.,* VI [1938], pp. 144-145, 172-174), either on the results of excavations, or on their contribution to the study of the Old Testament.

Old Testament scholars need bibliographies and competent summaries of archæological reports. They are fortunate in having in P. Thomsen's above-mentioned *Palästina-Literatur* a full bibliography for Palestinian

excavations down to 1934, and three comprehensive accounts of the archæological discoveries in the Holy Land: C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* (2 vols., 1933 and 1935); L. Hennequin (in *Supplement au Dictionnaire de la Bible* of F. Vigoroux, III, pp. 318-524); and A. G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique* (Vol. I, 1939; cf. his briefer *Précis d'archéologie biblique,* 1935). For general orientation, W. F. Albright has prepared valuable summaries (*The Archæology of Palestine and the Bible,* Chap. I, 3rd. ed., 1935; *The Haverford Symposium on Archæology and the Bible,* edited by E. Grant, pp. 1-46, 1938) and annual reports in the *American Journal of Archæology.* Similarly for Ugarit (Ras Shamra) we have a bibliography of more than five hundred titles in C. F. A. Schaeffer's *Ugaritica* (1939) and summaries in English (Z. S. Harris, in *Smithsonian Report for 1937,* pp. 479-502, 1938; C. F. A. Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit* [Schweich Lectures for 1937], London, 1939).

But for the rest of Western Asia and Egypt we have only one general work (C. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale,* 3 vols., 1927-31), which does not include Egypt and is rapidly becoming antiquated; and a recent general summary written by various specialists (*The Haverford Symposium on Archæology and the Bible,* 1938). The most valuable source of information, when (and if) completed, is the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* edited by Walter Otto: in the section on the cultural history of the ancient orient, the parts on Egypt (H. Kees), Asia Minor (A. Goetze), and Iran (A. Christensen) were published in 1933; the *Handbuch der Archäologie* reached page 873 in 1939. Important works on particular countries are the following: *The Survey of Persian Art,* edited by A. U. Pope, 7 vols., 1939; V. Christian, *Altertumskunde des Zweistromlandes,* 2 vols., 1938-40.

A limited selection of archæological material having a bearing on the Old Testament has been collected in the *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament* edited by H. Gressmann (2 vols., 1926-27) and in G. A. Barton's *Archæology and the Bible* (7th ed., 1937). Much more has been utilized in the following books on the history and religion of Israel and Canaan: S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archæology* (Schweich Lectures for 1925), 1930; A. Lods, *Israel,* 1932; *The Prophets,* 1937 (both translated from the French); S. H. Hooke (editor), *Myth and Ritual,* 1933; *The Labyrinth,* 1935; T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins,* 1936; W. C. Graham and H. G. May, *Culture and Conscience,* 1936; E. A. Leslie, *Old Testament Religion,* 1936; W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity,* 1940.

It is strange that Old Testament scholars, in their enthusiasm for the new archæological discoveries (particularly now the Ras Shamra epics;

cf. the bibliography of W. Baumgartner, in *Theologische Rundschau,* N. F., XII [1940], pp. 163-188), have failed, on the whole, to ponder critically the bearing and validity of archæological evidence for Israel's history and culture and to determine the methods by which it may be safely utilized. A few have recommended caution (T. J. Meek, cf. above; W. A. Irwin, in *Amer. Journ. of Semit. Lang.,* LV [1938], pp. 166-171); others have succinctly appraised the new evidence (J. A. Montgomery, in *Record and Revelation,* edited by H. W. Robinson, chap. I, 1938) or summarized its chief contributions to the understanding of the Old Testament (W. F. Albright, *Archæology of Palestine and the Bible,* chap. III; "Recent Discoveries in Bible Lands" in R. Young's *Analytical Concordance to the Bible,* 20th ed., 1936; cf. *From Stone Age to Christianity,* chap. I; S. H. Hooke, in *Record and Revelation,* chap. VI). But only Millar Burrows (*What Mean These Stones?* New Haven, 1941) has really investigated "the significance of archæology for biblical studies."

3. *Philology.* The decline of philological investigations among biblical scholars seems to require a new emphasis on the obvious fact that no real understanding of the Old Testament is possible without a good knowledge of Hebrew. Unfortunately the student of Hebrew lacks the necessary tools. In English he has only the *Hebrew Lexicon* of Brown, Driver, and Briggs (1906); and, except for some recent elementary grammars (K. M. Yates, 1938; D. Cameron and S. Daiches, 1939; J. Weingreen, 1940; O. R. Sellers and E. Voigt, 1941), merely a translation by G. Collins and A. E. Cowley (1898) of an early edition of the grammar of Gesenius-Kautzsch. In other languages, we have only the dictionary of Gesenius-Buhl (1915) and the grammars of G. Bergsträsser (1918 and 1929), of H. Bauer and P. Leander (1922); for the syntax, only the grammars of M. Lambert (1938) and particularly P. Joüon (1923). The need of a new Hebrew dictionary and grammar, presenting the results of recent investigations, is apparent.

4. *Text and Versions.* The third edition of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* prepared by A. Alt and O. Eissfeldt and giving P. Kahle's edition of Ben Asher's Masoretic text (1929-37), and A. Rahlfs' manual edition of the Septuagint (1935) have given us reliable (although *not* critical) texts of the Hebrew and Greek Bibles. Two other great editions of the Septuagint are in course of publication: the larger Cambridge Septuagint, edited by A. E. Brooke and N. McLean, begun in 1906, now nearing completion, having reached Judith and Tobit in 1940; and the critical edition sponsored by the Göttingen Academy and initiated by A. Rahlfs (who published Ruth and Genesis in 1922, and Psalms with Odes in 1931), in which the books of I Maccabees (W. Kappler, 1936) and Isaiah

(J. Ziegler, 1939) have recently appeared. Dom H. Quentin's critical edition of the Latin Vulgate Bible, begun in 1926, reached Judges and Ruth in 1939. For the other ancient versions, the Syriac Peshitta and those based primarily on the Septuagint, only individual books of the Old Testament have appeared in critical editions. Professor Robert P. Blake of Harvard University, however, has nearly finished in manuscript a critical edition of the Old Testament in Georgian, supplied with a translation into Latin. The value of similar editions of the other versions is manifest. Recent summaries of the study of the Hebrew text and the ancient versions of the Old Testament are available in *The Bible in its Ancient and English Versions,* edited by H. Wheeler Robinson (1940), and in the present writer's *Introduction to the Old Testament,* pp. 71-126, 1941.

5. *Canon.* The latest compendia on the gradual collection and canonization of the Old Testament writings have been published in the two works just mentioned and in: O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Tübingen, 1934); S. Zeitlin, *A Historical Study of the Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures (Proc. of the Amer. Acad. for Jewish Research,* III, pp. 121-158), 1933.

6. *Exegesis.* By far the outstanding collective undertaking of English speaking biblical scholars is the great *International Critical Commentary.* Although the value of the individual volumes varies according to the competence of their several authors, taken as a whole it is by no means inferior to the best German commentaries and to the admirable *Études Bibliques* prepared by French Catholic scholars. Unfortunately, although the *ICC* has been appearing from 1895 to 1937, it still lacks Exodus, Leviticus, Joshua, Kings, Isaiah 28-66, Jeremiah, Ruth, Canticles, Lamentations. The publication of these volumes, and particularly of Kings (the manuscript of which, prepared by J. A. Montgomery, is now in the hands of the publishers), is eagerly awaited, for, incidentally, the latest comprehensive commentary on Leviticus in any language is more than thirty years old. Except for a few volumes in the *Westminster Commentary,* we lack an English commentary on the Apocrypha.

7. *Literary Criticism.* Two methods have been adopted in the literary study of the Old Testament: the analysis of the individual biblical books or of the literary genres (and their sources in the oral tradition), and the history of Hebrew literature in its chronological development. The latest *Introductions* in English, besides some popular summaries, are those of W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson (1934) and of the present writer (1941); in German, the well known *Einleitung* of O. Eissfeldt (1934) and the briefer volume of A. Weiser (1939). The recent literary histories of J. A. Bewer (2nd ed., 1933) in English, and of J. Hempel

(1930-34) in German, are excellent. The only recent introductions to the Apocrypha, in addition to the German books of Eissfeldt and Hempel just mentioned, are those of Oesterley (1935) and (much briefer) of E. J. Goodspeed (1939).

8. *History of Israel.* The German work by R. Kittel (Vols. 1-2, 7th ed., 1932, 1925; Vol. 3, 1927-29) is still the most detailed. In English the best recent books are those of A. T. Olmstead (1931), Oesterley and Robinson (2 vols., 1932), and A. Lods (*Israel,* 1932, and *The Prophets,* 1937). For the history of the Jews in the period 200 B.C.-100 A.D., the great *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes* of E. Schürer (4 vols., 1901-11) is still without a rival, except for the religious and social history, for which we have now two standard works, respectively, G. F. Moore's *Judaism* (3 vols., 1927 and 1930), and J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain* (2 vols., 1914). Professor Olmstead is preparing a history of Palestine in this period.

9. *Religion of Israel and Judaism.* The recent archæological discoveries, notably at Ras Shamra, have had a profound repercussion on the study of the religion of Israel. In the books of Hooke, Meek, Graham and May, Leslie, and Albright, mentioned above in connection with archæology, the Tammuz-Adonis fertility myths and cults have been regarded as an integral element in the religion of Jehovah (cf. the convenient summary by Beatrice A. Brooks, in *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.,* LX [1941], pp. 227-253). In recent French books less emphasis is placed on this new theory and more on the Old Testament data: C. Toussaint, *L'ancien Jahvisme* (1931); E. Dhorme, *La religion des Hébreux nomades* (1937); A. Lods, *La religion d'Israël* (1939), a summary of his two important volumes on the history of Israel mentioned above. Equally objective is Moore's *Judaism,* dealing with the first two centuries of our era. Oesterley and Robinson's *Hebrew Religion* (2nd ed., 1937) is the only recent book in English on the history of the religion of Israel.

This cursory survey of recent general works on the Old Testament, omitting important monographs on particular topics, presents a record of notable achievement, but at the same time not a few unfinished tasks. In this critical time, when world-wide armed hostilities are threatening human civilization, American and British biblical scholars realize that the future progress in their field of research may depend in considerable measure from their own labors. For the outlook for humanistic studies in continental Europe is far from hopeful, and the great line of German and other European scholars may soon fade into insignificance. This is a time for preserving the heritage of the past and laying the foundations for future research, rather than for ventures into unexplored areas of

knowledge. Our motto for the moment should be the old French proverb: *Reculer pour mieux sauter* (step back, in order to jump farther). Or, in the words of H. Wheeler Robinson, not to "bring new knowledge," but "to make old knowledge more accessible."

Specifically, aside from completing unfinished projects, our immediate task is to provide the coming generations of English speaking scholars with the data of information, with tools for future research, and with a comprehensive coördination of the results of past research. Presumably these immense tasks will require much greater collaboration among scholars than has been practiced heretofore.

The data, or raw material, for Old Testament scholars are primarily texts, secondarily non-epigraphic archæological discoveries. Texts should be published comprehensively in critical editions and be provided with translations. Old Testament scholars require all the literary texts of Egypt and Western Asia earlier than the beginning of our era; the Greek and Latin texts, that are less important to them, are available in excellent editions. Of the ancient Near-eastern commercial (including personal matters of all kinds), historical, and literary documents, the last two types are the most important. English translations of the historical texts are provided in the series *Ancient Records* (University of Chicago Press), in which five volumes for Egypt (by J. A. Breasted) and two on Assyria (by D. D. Luckenbill) are available. The admirable *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek,* as planned, would have included in text and German translation all the important ancient texts of Western Asia. Unfortunately, after the publication of ten volumes including the historical records of Achæmenian Persia and some of the commercial and historical texts of Mesopotamia (1907-1916), it has apparently been discontinued. In the *Altorientalische Bibliothek,* planned to include all cuneiform records in transcription and translation, only the first volume (giving the inscriptions of the early Assyrian kings) has appeared (1926). It seems, therefore, unfortunate that a similar series in English, the *Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions,* projected under the auspices of the American Oriental Society by the late A. T. Clay, should have been given up after the appearance of G. A. Barton's *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (1929), although two works planned for this series (R. H. Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria,* 1935; and S. A. B. Mercer, *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets,* 2 vols., 1939) have appeared elsewhere. L. Waterman has published all the Assyrian letters in transcription and translation (4 vols., 1930-1936).

Under these circumstances, while the historical material for Egypt and Mesopotamia is available in full for certain periods, the literary material has not been collected in similar manner. For Egypt, A. Erman, *The*

Literature of the Ancient Egyptians (1927), is the only selection available, although important new material has since come to light. For Babylonia and Assyria there is no book to take the place of R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (2nd ed., 1926). It is therefore encouraging to know that S. N. Kramer is preparing a critical edition, with translation, of the Sumerian literary texts; he has now published "Inanna's [Ishtar's] Descent to the Nether World" (*Proc. of the Amer. Philos. Society,* Vol. LXXXV, No. 3 [February, 1942], pp. 293-323; with ten plates).

The epigraphic material in Hittite is becoming more and more significant for biblical studies, but it is available only in scattered publications, mostly in German translations (see B. Schwarz, *The Hittites.* A list of references in the New York Public Library, 1939). The best edition of selected texts with English translation is E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (1935).

The most pressing task is a comprehensive edition of the Ras Shamra literary texts, with a good English translation; for the handy editions of J. A. Montgomery and Z. S. Harris (1935), of H. L. Ginsberg (1936), and of H. Bauer (1936) lack a translation and are no longer comprehensive. The ancient Palestinian Hebrew inscriptions have been edited with an Italian translation by D. Diringer (1934), and J. B. Frey has begun the publication of all Jewish inscriptions from the 3rd century B.C. to the 7th century A.D. (Vol. I: Europe, 1936.) G. A. Cooke's useful *Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (1903) should be supplemented with new epigraphic finds (cf. J. W. Flight, in *The Haverford Symposium,* pp. 123 f.). A. Cowley's edition and translation of the Elephantine papyri (1923) is still the best. For South Arabian inscriptions, in addition to F. Hommel's *Chrestomathie* (1893), we have now C. Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica* (1931), but this material is still unaccessible to most of the Old Testament scholars, except through the *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde* (by Nielsen, Hommel, and Rhodokanakis), of which unfortunately only the first volume has appeared (1927). For North Arabian inscriptions, we now have F. V. Winnett, *A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions* (1937).

Bibliographies, reference works, grammars, and dictionaries are the most useful tools for research, and we should supply them for our successors. The ideal—which will probably remain a dream—is a comprehensive Old Testament bibliography for the years 1900-1940, patterned after Thomsen's Palestinian bibliography. The need of a new Hebrew grammar and dictionary has been mentioned: the investigation of the *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (1939) by Z. S. Harris is a step in the right direction, for the preparation of a historical Hebrew Gram-

mar; G. R. Driver's innumerable word studies are incidental to his preparation of a new Hebrew dictionary, but many of his conclusions are questioned by other Semitic philologists. For other languages, a satisfactory dictionary is available only for Egyptian (Erman and Grapow's *Wörterbuch,* which is practically complete). The Oriental Institute has been collecting material for an Assyrian dictionary for many years. In connection with the preparation of a Semitic etymological dictionary sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, for which word lists in the various languages will be made, Dorothy Stehle has compiled a concordance of the published material in South Arabic: may it soon be printed! It is a happy omen that American scholars have recently published Hittite (E. H. Sturtevant, 1933), Phœnician (Z. S. Harris, 1936), Ugaritic (C. H. Gordon, 1940), and Hurrian (E. A. Speiser, 1941) grammars; A. Goetze is preparing an Akkadian grammar.

Finally, the coördination of the best results of past research could be achieved conveniently in a comprehensive history of biblical studies through the centuries; in a biblical encyclopædia corresponding to Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1898-1904) and Cheyne's *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1899-1903) in the past generation; in a great history of the ancient world similar to E. Meyer's superb *Geschichte des Altertums* (5 vols., 1884-1902; new ed. of vols. I-III, in 5 vols., 1910-1937). In spite of its excellencies, the *Cambridge Ancient History* (completed in 1939 with the appearance of Vol. XII) is now obsolete for the early periods, and is irritating to the scholar for its lack of footnotes and to the college undergraduate for its ponderous style.

Hoc erat in votis. Vast and exacting, this program is not utopian: English-speaking Old Testament scholars are able to bring it to completion, thus insuring the uninterrupted progress of biblical research.

[The following publications appeared after this article had been set in type: Beryl Smalley, *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages,* Oxford University Press; George L. Robinson, *The Bearing of Archæology on the Old Testament,* New York; William F. Albright, *Archæology and the Religion of Israel,* Baltimore; Julian Morgenstern, "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis" in *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.,* LXI (1942), pp. 1-10; J. P. Hyatt, "The Ras Shamra Discoveries and the Interpretation of the Old Testament" in *Journ. of Bible and Relig.,* X (1942), pp. 67-75.]

From Off the Campus and On

TIME WAS when the pulpit was popularly regarded as six feet above contradiction. Fortunately those days are gone—at least among thinking men and women. Criticism properly means detailed examination and review. A minister who cannot face that from one of his best and understanding friends is truly in a bad way. It would be idle to deny that Professor Reid's article, "The Layman Observes the Minister," is devastating criticism; there will be few who can honestly say that it is unfair. When read before the Virginia Baptist General Association in February, it aroused wide response not only among the delegates but in the press. The editor of the CROZER QUARTERLY received several enthusiastic letters from Crozer alumni who had heard it, urging that if possible it be secured for publication. One such letter was signed by no less than eight recent graduates who commented upon the "fine approach to an acute problem" and styled the address "the high spot of the convention." It is therefore with more than usual satisfaction that the QUARTERLY makes this timely challenge available to our readers. Professor Reid is one of the most influential educators of the South. He is a graduate of Wake Forest and of Cornell. He has been head of the department of philosophy at Wake Forest since 1923. His most recent volume, *Invitation to Worship,* is reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

Mr. Heilig is a frequent contributor to our pages and, as such, needs no formal introduction. We are glad to add this penetrating Dialogue on the Styx to the series which has aroused wide and favorable response.

Oliver W. Elsbree (Crozer, 1918) has been on the faculty of the University of Pittsburgh since 1930, and is now head of the division of modern European history. Before going to Pittsburgh he taught history at Bucknell and Yale. Readers of the CROZER QUARTERLY of some years standing will remember articles of his which appeared in earlier issues. He is the author of an important volume, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America.*

After graduating from Boston University, Peter A. Bertocci, author of the provocative article, "The Man Neglected by Science and Education," did graduate work at Harvard, Cambridge, and Boston University, resulting in the regulation degrees—A.M. and Ph.D. Since 1935 he has been in the department of philosophy and psychology at Bates College.

The brief article by Winston L. King will be read with distinct interest. The question he raises is not to be dismissed with a contemptuous reference to the vagaries of the "hen-house sects" of modern Christianity. It is only as these problems are grappled with that any advance is possible.

Dr. King is a graduate of Asbury College (Wilmore, Kentucky), and of Andover Newton. He spent several years at Harvard in graduate work (S.T.M., 1938; Ph.D., 1940).

Serious students will hail with hearty thanks the article, "Present Tasks for Old Testament Scholars," in the series of résumés appearing in these pages from time to time. Dr. Pfeiffer's encyclopædic knowledge of the whole field of Old Testament research in its widest ramifications makes him an ideal man to point out and evaluate what has been done recently and what still needs to be done. His magnificent volume, *Introduction to the Old Testament,* reviewed in the QUARTERLY (January, 1942), has already received wide and deserved acclaim and is in wide use in colleges and seminaries. For nearly twenty years Dr. Pfeiffer has been on the faculty of the Harvard Divinity School.

Seven experts "from off the campus" aid the devoted members of the Crozer faculty in the useful but exacting task of book reviewing. J. P. Berkeley, for many years head of the department of religious education at Andover Newton, has recently been transferred to the chair of Old Testament, to succeed his retiring colleague, W. N. Donovan. Mitchell Bronk and Robert E. Keighton are regular members of our staff of reviewers. A. Eustace Haydon has been chairman of the department of comparative religions at the University of Chicago since 1921. Dr. Kitchen, for several years president of the Baptist Institute (Philadelphia), is now minister of the First Baptist Church, Brantford, Ontario. Henry C. Newell, formerly president of Piedmont College and now a Massachusetts pastor, is a frequent and valued contributor. Amos N. Wilder is head of the department of New Testament at Andover Newton.

BOOK REVIEWS

Man's Quest for Salvation, by Charles S. Braden, Chicago, Willett, Clark, 1941, pp. xii, 274, $2.50.

The central theme of man's religious story is his quest for the values of the ideal life. If there are gods in a religion, they are servants of this quest, providing the desired values or guaranteeing the ultimate fulfillment of man's highest vision. If there are no gods, the religious world view reads the universe in terms favorable to human ideals. So also the practical and ceremonial techniques arise, change, are justified or outgrown in terms of their use in the realization of values. Through all the changing theologies and institutions runs the desire-driven search for salvation. Mr. Braden has chosen to follow the thread of this fascinating theme historically through the cultures of the world. Scholars who know the vast spread of this study in time and space and the way the path of history twists and turns and becomes cluttered with endless complexity in any culture will appreciate the admirably clear picture achieved by the author. There are no frills of style, no striving for artistic effects, only a straightforward, workmanlike presentation of materials.

The work deals with the salvation ideals of ten religions. India is represented by Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, and Sikhism. China provides a contrast with Confucianism and Taoism. Japan is represented by Shinto, while Zoroastrianism and the Semitic trio—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—round out the circuit of the world. Thousands of years and the aspirations of untold millions of many ethnic stocks are condensed into this simple story. Christianity, as usual, gets almost one-fourth of all the space. Why? Apparently because Christianity seems more important than others to a Christian, even a Christian historian. Certainly it is not because it is difficult to present the Christian salvation program in clear, concise form. Buddhism in its world-wide spread with its several ways of salvation is incomparably more complex. For the Western reader, however, this lack of balance will not mar the virtues of an excellent book.

Perhaps the picture of man's search for salvation is too simply drawn. Behind these materials so calmly looking out from placid pages lies the tense drama of the struggle for life in ever larger fullness. These ideals and programs of salvation did not drop down full-formed from heaven. They were worked out by generations of prophetic dreamers who refused to accept defeat for man and challenged the universe under the banner of hope. It would be extremely helpful in our age of change and uncertainty to have these salvation ideals of the past come to life in their historic human context. To see the cultural process in action as life repeatedly broke the bondage of the good old ways in quest of the flying goal of perfect happiness would give vital meaning to the modern struggle of the peoples of the world to escape the dead hand of orthodoxy and create the program of salvation that will actualize the good life for man. When the author has given so much, it may seem ungracious to ask for more; but this vitalizing of the materials would have won him high praise from layman and scholar, and, perhaps, frowns from the fundamentalist.

Mr. Braden virtuously admits a Christian bias. Is it because of this bias and the long-standing separation of the secular and the religious in Christianity, that no space is given to those social institutions which alone guaranteed the real

values of life for the massed millions of the Orient? Unlike Christianity, the great religions of the East reach back to primitive origins in prehistory and were for ages concerned with realizing a good life in this world. Through the communal family, the village organization, the guild and caste, the material, physical, moral, and social values enfolded and molded the individual. This *dharma* or *li* was the essence of religion. If in periods of frustration and tragedy otherworldly ideals emerged, they were supplemental to and not substitutes for the practical way of life. In these cultures, therefore, it is not enough to emphasize only the "ultimate" ideals of salvation. It tips the picture out of focus to glorify goals woven of compensatory dreams while ignoring the real values of living and how they were won.

It is rather startling to view the program of salvation of Christianity set in the background of the ideals of other religions. The strange picture of the Christian god, omnipotent and all-wise, playing out the shadow drama of atoning to himself to redeem a creation gone wrong and then offering salvation to only a fraction of the human race, does not compare favorably with the ethical stress of China and the insistence upon individual responsibility in Zoroastrianism.

What defects there are in this book flow not from lack of learning, nor from failure to use trustworthy authorities, but from the Christian bias of the author. Sometimes he uses terms recklessly, as when he refers to the Jains as "thoroughly humanistic." On practically every point, the system of the Jains is poles apart from humanism. In spite of all this carping criticism, the book is an important contribution to religious literature, especially since it brings these materials together under one cover for the first time.

A. EUSTACE HAYDON

Walter Rauschenbusch, by Dores Robinson Sharpe, New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. xiii, 463, $2.75.

It is something to see the making of a prophet. Walter Rauschenbusch was certainly a prophet, in the truest sense of that word—the outstanding protagonist of social Christianity of his time. And I was privileged to look on, from rather close at hand, as his prophethood unfolded. We were fellow students at the University of Rochester. We were Baptist pastors at the same time in New York City: during those years—for him—formative—when he was learning to know himself and humankind, the underprivileged in particular, in the ministry of a German language church. For twenty years I was associated with him in the Brotherhood of the Kingdom. In the conventicles of this unorganized organization, at Marlboro-on-the-Hudson and at the Amity Church in New York, he tried out, as it were, his theories and convictions; presented the arguments for a Christianized social order and a socialized Christianity that later found their way into his books. From these books we again got his messages—his disciples, as we liked to think ourselves. In short, Walter Rauschenbusch became one of the leading influences in my spiritual development. It is natural, then, that a book about him should have for me unusual interest: to get the picture that another of his hero-worshippers has drawn of him.

It is, as one would expect, a sympathetic, intimate book; its preparation a devotional labor. The author was Rauschenbusch's secretary at the Rochester Seminary. He realized his master's greatness and so wisely kept notes. He has collected a veritable *Rauschenbuschiana.* He has had the coöperation of Mrs. Rauschenbusch and other members of the family, as well as of the Colgate-Rochester Seminary, to which he brought so much fame. And Dr. Sharpe has been conscien-

tious and thorough in his authorship. Perhaps this is why some of us have had to be impatient that the expected biography did not appear sooner. But this very thoroughness has overloaded the book. One may question, for example, if it was wise to give so much attention to Rauschenbusch's theological views; or to bring in the dead denominational wrangles of the century's turn, the City Mission Society *vs.* Leighton Williams controversy, and the firing of Nathaniel Schmidt from the Hamilton Seminary. Nor has the author's plethora of material been well assembled. He runs from one phase to another of Rauschenbusch's life and views. You fail of a real life story; it is piecemeal.

In our opinion the delicate matter of Rauschenbusch's German connections and his attitude towards war and the first World War—that so darkened his last days—has received fine treatment. Valuable, too, and appealing are the close-ups of Walter with which Dr. Sharpe has favored us. Chapter headings always count big in a book, and the ones here have been made both striking and luminous: "Hell's Kitchen" (of that New York parish), "The Socializing of Prayer," "The Thunder of the Prophet," "The Revolutionary Destiny of Christianity," "The Lights Are Going Out," "A Great Good Man."

While there will be a reserved regret that the writing of the biography did not fall into the hands of an experienced book writer, someone who could have made this a popular biography, one to be widely read—for Walter was a most fascinating subject for a life story—nevertheless, we his friends, and lovers of social righteousness everywhere, and the Baptist denomination of which he was such a conspicuous representative will welcome this biography and be endlessly grateful to Dr. Sharpe for it. As Harry Emerson Fosdick remarks, in his brief Introduction, "to those who never knew him it will introduce one of the most inspiring teachers and prophets that American Christianity has produced."

It may seem ungracious to watch out for mistakes in such a book as this, but how could our great Baptist missionary, Walter's brother-in-law, ever have been made "George," instead of John Clough (p. 58)? On p. 47, too, there is the amazing statement that Charles Augustus Strong "became Professor of Philosophy at the Sorbonne, Paris." And finally, because the book is well documented, I am rather surprised that in the chapter devoted to the Brotherhood of the Kingdom credit is not given to my story of the Brotherhood, published in the CROZER QUARTERLY for January, 1937, from which considerable data—and wording—have been lifted.

MITCHELL BRONK

The Christian Faith, by Nels F. S. Ferré, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. xv, 216, $2.00.

The thesis, which keeps constantly recurring throughout the book, is stated in the preface: "I have become persuaded by the compelling truth inherent in the Christian faith itself that Christianity is man's ultimate religion because it is God's supreme revelation" (p. ix). This statement would lead some trained in the liberal tradition to question whether Dr. Ferré means to stay with the liberals or whether he is going to try to find some middle ground between liberalism and the new conservatism. It is the judgment of the present writer that he does leave the bank of liberalism, but that, when he touches the soft and encumbered banks of the new conservatism, he hesitates to put his feet down firmly for fear of the clinging mud of stark, historical event and the slimy accretions of churchly dogma. More about this later, however, when we comment upon his treatment of some of the beliefs and events which orthodoxy considers essential to a full Christianity. In other

words, it is quite clear that Dr. Ferré is at the present time in the middle of the theological stream.

Building his book around the ultimate considerations for human life and Christian faith, Ferré discusses the human ultimate, the historic ultimate, the progressive ultimate, the religious ultimate, and the Christian ultimate. He finds, in speaking of the human ultimate, that man needs not only life and liberty, but also loyalty to something greater than himself. The highest loyalty is found in "self-giving love creative of fellowship." This is the human ultimate and "this is also Christianity. . . . Christianity, therefore, is the human ultimate" (p. 26). Because of unique, God-guaranteed, creative good will in Christianity, it is found that it is the historic ultimate as well. It is interesting in creating the kind of universal fellowship which can only grow out of the self-giving love of God. Since there is nothing more ultimate than this, "there can be nothing beyond Christianity" (p. 50). It is also contended that Christianity is the progressive ultimate "because it is the very purpose of God for man without which progress itself becomes an evil" (p. 78). Anything less than the fellowship which grows out of the Christian community's awareness of the love of God will fail to bring mankind to the happy goal of that integrated social and religious life of which so many dream. Therefore, Christianity furnishes the religious ultimate. Dr. Ferré discovers this particularly in the atonement where "God in Jesus becomes our religious ultimate" (p. 176). Here he discovers that we have the assurance that eternal life is not due to man's nature or achievement, but to "God's faithfulness as seen and experienced in Jesus Christ" (pp. 177 f.). The Christian ultimate is found in the fact that Christianity is a fellowship of forgiveness in which man finds himself, despite his sin, lifted up by God's grace into a condition characterized by humble gratitude, increasing love for others, blessedness, and an ardent desire for fellowship with God. Hence the thesis is justified that "Christianity is man's ultimate religion because it is God's supreme revelation."

Many readers, I have little doubt, will be troubled more by one feature of the book than by any other; namely, the manner in which Dr. Ferré deals with some of the doctrines which conservatives regard as essential to Christian faith. Among these would be included the virgin birth, the second coming, the incarnation, miracles, and the atonement. The reaction of many will be that the motive of Dr. Ferré is a laudable one; namely, to recover and preserve the religious value which first produced these various doctrines. They will go on to insist, nonetheless, that in order to conserve whatever religious value lies back of the formulation of these doctrines and views, he follows a very dangerous technique, which, if prosecuted by many, would be just as destructive of Christian faith as was the ancient and mediæval practice of allegorizing the Scriptures. We shall illustrate this technique by specific reference to the treatment of the doctrine of the virgin birth. It is one thing to say that the virgin birth is a fact. It is quite another thing, and something which will hoodwink neither the thoroughgoing conservative nor the liberal, to say that "the doctrine of the virgin birth is an indispensable part of the full Christian faith; not, indeed, the biological doctrine itself, but the truth which caused the biological doctrine to be created" (p. 106). The very point of the doctrine for the orthodox believer is precisely that male human agency had nothing whatsoever to do with the conception of Jesus. If this be denied, then, for the conservative, the doctrine loses both its validity and its meaning. Moreover, the liberal would contend that what Dr. Ferré is trying to preserve through his insistence upon what lies back of the virgin birth, is not necessarily dependent upon a miraculous conception at all.

He writes: "Of critical importance, however, is the central fact of Christianity that what was born was primarily of God and not of man" (p. 109). The liberal would contend that it is unnecessary to make so sharp a distinction between Jesus and our ordinary humanity to enable God to work fully through the personality of Jesus. To say that God could not work through a human being unless that being had been miraculously conceived by the Holy Ghost is certainly to limit very definitely the power of God and, moreover, to make of Jesus something other than a completely human being. It is quite possible to conceive that God could work as fully through a personality perfectly consecrated and adjusted to his will as he could through one miraculously conceived by the Holy Spirit. The part of wisdom, it seems to me, is either to accept the virgin birth as a biological fact, completely and irrevocably removing Joseph as the father of Jesus, or else to find some other basis, such as has been suggested, for the distinctive working of God in Jesus. To accept Ferré's position is to remain in the middle of the theological stream, never reaching certain ground.

While the volume will cause the liberal's "fur to fly," he should not avoid the book. Its pages are crowded with stimulating insights which will keep the mind awake throughout and bring definitely valuable concepts to every faithful reader.

GEORGE W. DAVIS

The Highway of God, by Ralph W. Sockman, New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. xiv, 228, $2.00.

Here are the Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching for the year 1940-1941, delivered at Yale University. The lecturer speaks of his sense of honor and dismay when invited to deliver these lectures. Surely! What more can be said since the founding of the lectureship in 1870-1871? Even so, Dr. Sockman makes his own unique contribution. The six lectures grow out of a text, namely, Jesus' conversation with the deputation sent to him by John the Baptist, as recorded in Matthew 11 and Luke 7. The lectures are entitled, "A Voice in the Wilderness," "A Reed in the Wind," "A Prophet," "More than a Prophet," "The Least in the Kingdom," and "The Children of Wisdom *vs.* the Children of the Market Place."

We live in a time of disillusionment: men began by doubting God and ended in loss of faith in man. We are lost in a dense, dark wilderness wherein we would hear the voice of one crying, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord." The parents are confused, their young are confounded. As a young man wrote, "College gives us spokes but no hub, knowledge but no purpose." Bewilderment characterizes even the pulpit; we can no longer "trust the Beatitudes to withstand the blitzkrieg." The hour cries out for the minister who can be road builder and road mender. Moreover, the minister able to serve the present need, having done all, must stand unbending before wind and storm; sometimes he must "stand" ignoring consequences to himself, yes, and even to others. In truth the minister must recapture for himself the role of prophet of the living and eternal God.

He must, indeed, be "more than a prophet"; he must be a Christian gentleman, respecting the personality, the feelings, the opinions of others. He must be a man who speaks, not so much by preaching as by his own life and character. In and by his own worth he becomes the guide to men, and a healer of their souls. In addition to prophet he must also be priest.

The good minister, though among the least in the kingdom of God, is yet greater than John. John was impetuous, critical, caustic, and preached down to the people;

there came one after him who did otherwise. Though on fire with the kingdom idea, he promulgated that idea by quiet contacts with all sorts and kinds of people. The minister should be like him whose ambassador he is. In so doing, let him be sustained by the conviction that God is marching on undefeated and undefeatable. Because God exists and because man is his son, human progress is assured—dour and faithless pessimists notwithstanding.

All the future is in the hands of the children of wisdom rather than of the children of the market place. The former must not dance to the tunes called by either the pipers or the mourners. Rather will their saving wisdom be revealed as they keep a proper balance between judgment and mercy, realism and hope. In the darkness there is light. "The slow but inevitable working of divine justice; the suicidal futility of anger; the fertilization of life through sacrifice are lessons which give confidence when the darkness becomes deepest"—thus concludes the book.

W. R. McNUTT

Religion for Today, by A. J. William Myers, New York, Association Press, 1941, pp. ix, 243, $2.00.

This latest volume from the head of the department of religious education at the Hartford Seminary Foundation bears the subtitle, "An Essay in the Philosophy of Religious Education." It represents the mature thinking of one who has long been an exponent of the creative principle in Christian education and it is a timely contribution to the philosophy "not only [of] ministers, students, and directors of religious education, but also [of] the intelligent layman who, the author is convinced, is repelled by certain medieval religious conceptions and is hungry for something more satisfying and more in keeping with experience today."

Professor Myers recognizes the necessity of religion and invites us to the task of making it adequate and satisfying. He "rejects, on the one hand, ideas of God that are localized and despotic, and on the other hand, all views so broad and liberal that they have no place for God." With his high regard for the supreme worth of human personality he regards man as a child of God, "in some respects a free agent . . . ever struggling toward the ideal called democracy." He sees "these ideas of God and man . . . contending against all forms of coercion and force," and leading toward a better human world. From these premises he propounds the educational principles of free and creative Christian education, and concludes that religion alone can point the way to a better world.

The creative principle in Christian education which the author reëmphasizes has characterized the philosophy and practice of the Hartford School of Religious Education. That principle is now jeopardized by a religious and educational authoritarianism that directly contradicts the free spirit of democracy. Utilizing the given resources of the universe, life, our cultural heritage, and God, education has two opposing theories between which to choose: free and creative as over against formal education. The author effectively contrasts these as regards their differing viewpoints, basic conceptions, the place of the learner and of the teacher, subject matter and curriculum, methods and freedom, organization and spirit of the school. Professor Myers has himself long been the effective interpreter of a free and creative Christian education, marked by a keen social sympathy and understanding directed toward a better human world. He sees the future of religion secured by the continuing love and intelligence and power of God expressing itself in nature, in society, and in the individual life. Truth, beauty, and goodness are the lure of religion, which alone is the way to a better world.

An appendix contains the latest pronouncements on social ideals, both Christian (Protestant) and Jewish, a Declaration on World Federation, and the "Charter of the Atlantic."

In *Religion for Today,* Professor Myers has made a contribution that can be calculated to provide reinforcement to the cause of creative education when its ramparts are being assailed by a neo-orthodoxy influenced by the onward march of authoritarian philosophies across our world.

L. CLAYTON KITCHEN

Jesus in Action, by Benjamin W. Robinson, New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. ix, 217, $1.50.

Professor Robinson has taken up the theme of the positive personality of Jesus in action achieving spiritual results. He interprets for us in a forceful way "the forth-flowing, out-speaking, help-giving positiveness" of Jesus which acted creatively upon men. Robinson's statement of Jesus' aim indicates the tone and purpose of this book. "The man he sought to produce and in some cases so nearly succeeded in producing was a man who was richly, totally, positively, affirmatively, constructively, harmoniously, and beneficently active in a single, simple but all comprehending life of 'doing good'" (p. 214).

This task of the exposition of Jesus and his words in their positive and forceful assertiveness is no easy task. To catch the spirit of Jesus' dynamic affirmativeness and not make it mere self-assertiveness, to set forth his meek, self-giving goodness and not make it weak sentimentality, to go deeper than the reformer, the teacher, the good example and reach into the life-giving, creative, positive goodness of Jesus is an exceedingly difficult assignment to take upon oneself. We are greatly indebted to Professor Robinson for undertaking this and furnishing us with such a helpful study. Reading this book, one's mind goes back again and again to certain older books in this field: Hughes, *The Manliness of the Master;* Seeley, *Ecce Homo;* Fosdick, *The Manhood of the Master.* But *Jesus in Action* has features of positive worth and freshness which give it distinct value for today.

There are four tests which may be applied to such a work: 1. the writer's mastery of his sources; 2. the writer's power of illuminating exposition; 3. the value of the book to the personal life of the reader; and 4. the value of the book to the Christian preacher and teacher.

1. The writer's mastery of his sources. This book is not "critical." But it is the product of the ripe scholarship of one who has all the freedom of matured knowledge. His critical work has not bound him but set him free. Therefore he is able to use the wide ranging, many-sided, richly varied words of Jesus. There is no special choosing of "convenient" texts, but a comprehensive and integrated use of the whole range of the sources. In all the phases of Jesus' life and words Robinson examines his positive affirmativeness. The book awakens confidence in the ripe, mature wisdom of the writer.

2. The writer's power of illuminating exposition. Professor Robinson's style matches his materials. There is a verve and positiveness in his English which is appropriate to his theme of Jesus' affirmativeness. He catches the spirit of Jesus and sets it forth with vigor of expression. The reader will find many quotable phrases and sentences to add to his store of exposition. The headings of the chapters are suggestive and show real insight.

3. The value of the book to the personal life of the reader. The book is stimulating for the Christian life, because it exposes the mind of the reader to

"the gospel which went out from Jesus." It is challenging to the reader because it lets Jesus do the challenging. For the intelligent layman, the Christian teacher, the preacher, here is a book which is wholesome and has power to quicken faith. Complacency will be disturbed; faith will be quickened into action. It is enriching to any believer who is seeking the guidance of Jesus.

4. The value of the book to the Christian teacher and preacher. This is a good book both in homiletics and religious education. Robinson says of Jesus' words that they "are for the benefit of those who are engaged in a campaign of missionary work under Jesus' direction" (p. 55). This is the test. Can the preacher find the right kind of help from this book in stirring the wills of his hearers in the campaign of missionary work under Jesus' direction? He can. The book will guide the preacher to a clearer understanding of Jesus and to a more vigorous appeal to the wills of men. Can the educator use this book to help him in his campaign of missionary work under Jesus' direction? He can. Here is a book to be used in a study course. Here is the material to help in the construction of a course for young people and young adults who respond to the positive man of action. In this day of military action, here is an illuminating guide for spiritual action.

The value of the book to the student would be increased by a good scripture index. Then Robinson's comments on various passages could be employed in other connections for their suggestive and fruitful insights.

J. P. BERKELEY

Religion and the Present Crisis, edited by John Knox, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. xi, 165, $1.50.

The publication of this unusually interesting and exceedingly timely little volume was made possible through the generosity of the Walgreen Foundation for the Study of American Institutions. The book consists of a series of lectures dealing with the relation of American Christianity to the present crisis of world civilization. These lectures were given in 1941 under the auspices of the Foundation by nine members of the faculty of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the fact that while each man presents the studied conclusions of his own research and thinking an outline of each lecture was submitted for critical examination at the weekly meetings of the Divinity School faculty. Thus instead of a series of excellent but disconnected essays on supremely important themes the volume is organized into an orderly and progressive challenge to serious thought on the part of the reader.

A glance at the table of contents reveals that the themes treated are of vital importance and that the writers are competent. The basic premise that the Christian church in America, together with the religion which it professes and is supposed to promote, has definite responsibilities in a world sadly gone wrong is dealt with in the opening essay on "Christianity Refinding Itself." A further step in the argument insists that American democracy is endangered by internal weaknesses and, in a discussion of the problem of "Building a Better Democracy," suggests the value of the Christian church at its best as an agency well prepared to help cure these weaknesses. Recognition of the vexed problems which confront a supposedly Christian democracy in war time is afforded by the next three essays dealing respectively with "Reëxamining Pacifism," "Maintaining Fellowship across Lines of Conflict," and "Achieving Personal Stability." Having thus prepared the way for consideration of the better world which ought to be the outstanding

result of this present crisis of civilization, the remaining four lectures concern themselves with "Anticipating the Post-war Mind," "Preparing for Durable Peace," "Educating for a New World-Order," and "Redeeming Culture through Crisis."

Because it presents its arguments with clarity and with refreshing freedom from technical terminology, and because of its timely message, the book will probably attract a goodly group of casual readers. For thoughtful laymen and active ministers in American communities it will prove both stimulating and provocative. It is related of a great American preacher of an earlier day that when reproved because he did not practice what he preached his rejoinder was: "It is enough for one man to do the preaching; let the congregation practice!" Perhaps the writers of these lectures feel somewhat the same way concerning the ideals which they have set forth in their little book. But certainly as the practical pastor compares these ideals with actual life as he sees it lived in the average American parish he is likely to long for an opportunity to sit in at some of those weekly meetings of the Divinity School faculty with the privilege of asking questions. It is high praise of this modest volume that those questions would not be at all in the nature of a supercilious "So what?" but an honest and earnest "How?"

HENRY C. NEWELL

The Time Stream, by Edgar Laing Heermance, Burlington (Vt.), Free Press Association, 1942, pp. 205, $2.00.

The author invites us to climb a lofty mountain with him, where we may gain a world view, and trace the "time stream" of which he writes, from its source to the present day. He is a worthy guide, with a background of knowledge and experience acquired as a minister, nature lover, and writer of books on religion, ethics, and practical philosophy.

From this point of vantage he points out what has come to pass through the interaction of human personality and the external world, the coöperation of man and God, the development of moral standards, the advancement of modern science, the growth of altruism, the awakening of national interest, and the present trend toward regimentation. The value of group emotion, the possibility of developing conviction, and the effectiveness of Jesus as a symbol of God are presented as hopeful factors in directing the time stream toward a happy consummation of human life and history.

Throughout the volume one great idea is stressed again and again. God is identified with the activities which are evident in the universe.

> The world may be described as God's activity . . . we do not find an occasional miracle worker, but a being who is active in all the processes of nature. . . . And there is no escape from the all-pervading Power.
>
> The great outstanding fact is that underneath our human brutalities and makeshifts and mistakes is the Rule of a dependable and beneficent God. When men work with Him rather than against Him, they have the Universe on their side.
>
> We must go along with the current of His spirit and purpose or take the consequences. And these moral consequences were as certain as those which followed the violation of His physical laws.

This is an interesting, convincing, and inspiring book; one that makes the thoughtful reader thank God and take courage.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER

The Miracle-Stories of the Gospels, by Alan Richardson, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. viii, 149, $2.00.

I have read this volume with distinct interest and satisfaction. It is far from being simply another rehash of the miracles. On the contrary it is a fresh and

important study. While not essentially polemic nor crusading in spirit, it is nonetheless prompted in no little degree by recent works of the so-called form critics, notably Dibelius and Bultmann, with whose conclusions it sharply disagrees.

His thesis is: The miracle stories do not form a secondary stratum of the gospel tradition but are an essential part of the presentation of the gospel itself. They are not to be seen as produced by secular story-tellers, but were from the first an essential part of the preaching of the Christian missionaries. To throw them out bodily or to water them down wrecks the early gospel. The common interpretation of them as primarily of "evidential value" or as told to "evoke wonder" or to show Jesus' "compassion" are flatly rejected. The important task (too often overlooked) is to see what the first makers of the gospel tradition believed about them and to discover why the early missionaries preached them. This appears to me a proper and necessary approach.

Mr. Richardson insists—and I think very rightly—that the Old Testament was a storehouse of materials from which the evangelists constantly drew. In the swing away from the position of Strauss this indisputable fact has too often been lost sight of and neglected; in consequence there has been a deal of loose talk about similar hellenistic wonder tales, much of which is pointless. The opening chapter, "The Theology behind the Miracle-Story," is excellent and pointed and needed to be written. Not a few balloons are pricked, as, for example, the "proofs of the miracles" by modern so-called faith-cures and by psychotherapy. Throughout the volume there is sanity and balance.

The author is completely aware of the results of modern literary criticism and, what is more, uses them. He recognizes frankly that many of the stories as we have them are due to the evangelists. He insists that then, as now, "miracles are evidence (not to the general public, but only to those who have eyes to see) as to Who Jesus is" (p. 31). These stories are thus to be seen as the product of profound meditation upon the significance of the person and actions of Jesus. In a word, they are neither the personal reminiscences of a Peter nor the irresponsible product of story-tellers who desired to impress and astound. This sane and judicious emphasis is all to the good, as is his reservation of the question, "Are they (historically) true?" to the closing pages. Both radical and conservative alike should find sweet solace here.

The book is well-written. It is far from being light reading. By that I do not mean that it is dull—it is distinctly not that—but that it requires close concentration and not infrequent rereading. The use of two fonts of type (the smaller for more technical details) is very happy and might well be more generally used in modern studies. There is a full and convenient index of biblical passages discussed or referred to. The book should prove of distinct value to amateur and professional alike, for there is no rival to it, at least in English. Mr. Richardson, an Englishman, is study secretary of the Student Christian Movement and examining chaplain to the bishops of Newcastle and Sheffield.

MORTON S. ENSLIN

The Logic of Belief, by D. Elton Trueblood, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. xi, 327, $2.75.

In this well-written and stimulating volume Professor Trueblood presents the arguments for and against theistic realism, which he conceives to be the livest option for the interpretation of the world and human existence. He points out that fundamentally there are only two live alternatives of belief concerning reality: 1. that the only order of reality is the material in which there are no signs of spirit

or reason, but only blind and unconscious force with which man can have no fellowship; 2. that there is about us, within us, and above us a universal and eternal reason or purpose with which man can commune. Trueblood's book is a repudiation of the former view and a justification of the reasonableness of the latter.

Naturalism, which represents the philosophic expression of the first alternative, is found insufficient in that it cannot present an adequate account of goodness, truth, or history. Naturalism cannot explain goodness in man because it holds that all human actions are the result of a rigorously mechanical process. If this be true, then there is nothing any more moral about a man risking his all to save the homeless than there is in the action of water going over a waterfall. Likewise the naturalistic account of truth is unsatisfactory because all so-called "thought" is simply "laryngeal motion," which is entirely the product of a series of events foreign to any creative element. The naturalist is thereby shut up within a deterministic system of truth. Naturalism's account of history is also unsatisfactory because it fails to explain the persistent introduction of novelty into the time process. There is nothing in the causal series which explains these new elements in the human stream—elements which obviously are the creation of man's mind as he concentrates upon that which has long since passed and also upon that which is not now but which he believes should be in the future. Naturalism's view of history as exclusively physical and causal in nowise accounts for the truth of man's creative advance.

Turning from naturalism to the only other live alternative for the interpretation of reality, Dr. Trueblood contends that the faith in theistic realism is valid not when defended from one point of view alone, but when the cumulative evidence from many aspects of life is considered. His position is that "the only kind of proof we know consists of cumulative presentation of evidence, the probability being greater as the corroboration is greater." He finds that the theistic hypothesis is justified because of evidence, almost equally valid, from four areas: nature, moral experience, æsthetic experience, religious experience. The presentation of this evidence constitutes the heart of the book and is worthy of the serious consideration of every impartial student of religion and religious philosophy. I shall try to give, in a sentence or two, the heart of each of these arguments for the independent existence of God.

Many scientists no longer regard nature as a closed system. Pointing out that the second law of thermodynamics, which concerns itself with the progressive degradation of energy, is the most important single fact of modern science, Trueblood insists that the modern scientist has no rational explanation of the origin and maintenance of the universe apart from a creative source of energy outside of it. If the law of entropy be accepted seriously, the world cannot be a perpetual motion machine as the atheistic naturalists have contended; on the contrary, it had a beginning outside of itself and is being sustained now by that external factor. But such a creative source of energy outside the natural order is what theistic religion means by God.

In the moral realm, all men know there is something which they ought to be and that there are some things which they will not do. This is the moral law operating, so that it can be said, as Paul Elmer More put it, "I do not believe you will discover anywhere, or at any time, a human being who does not feel ill at ease if he is conscious of having betrayed a friend." Trueblood contends that such "moral experience is an absurdity and a delusion unless there is a Divine Mind to whom our moral experience refers and to whom we are disloyal when we fail" (p. 177).

In the realm of æsthetic experience, it is found that the true artist always strives to express that which presses in upon him and seeks formulation through his creative impulse. Art, in other words, always seeks to communicate that which is not wholly the creation of the artist. He does not feel that he *chose* to present this poem, picture, or symphony, but that he was *chosen* to present it. "The artist is convinced that he is spoken to, that he has learned something, and he proceeds, as best he can, to communicate to others what has been communicated to him" (p. 189). This æsthetic experience, attested by all genuine artists and by those who feel satisfaction with great works of art, is precisely what we should expect to find if theism is true.

Religious experience is the fourth accumulation of evidence in favor of theism. Trueblood finds such experience to be perceptual, cognitive, and personal. The tests applied to determine its validity are 1. number of reporters, 2. the quality of the reporters, 3. the agreement of the reports, and 4. the difference which the religious experience makes in the lives of the experients. Having examined this evidence, he writes:

> The conclusion to which we are driven is that in religion we have a situation in which the evidence of objectivity is better than it is in natural science because the corroboration comes from such a long time and from such widely separated areas. The miracle of coincidence is so great that it is bound to be unacceptable to thoughtful persons. Yet what other alternative is there unless belief in God as objectively real is accepted? Herein lies part of the deep significance of the ancient saying that it is hard to believe, but harder still to disbelieve (p. 214).

This book is an acceptable addition to the growing literature in the field of the philosophy of religion. It deserves the careful consideration of all those whose business it is, in part, to establish the intellectual validity of theistic religion.

GEORGE W. DAVIS

Faith under Fire, by Michael Coleman, New York, Scribner, 1942, pp. x, 160, $1.50.

The author is the acting vicar of All Hallows Church, hard by the Tower of London, and older than the Tower itself. In this church men and women have worshiped "from time almost immemorial." Beneath it lie the remains of a Druid temple; in the days of William the Conqueror ten great pillars were built in the nave of the church; in its Crusader's Chapel there rested for 150 years the heart of Richard Cœur de Lion. It was one of those sacred shrines of old England, beloved by her people. In 1939 bombs began to rain on London. In September, 1940, the London docks were hit, and in December the church itself was smashed. Yet all the while work went on—the vicar ministering to his people in underground places and toiling with the workmen in the desolation.

Out of that experience, beyond the power of his American readers to visualize, has come this vicar's confession of faith. It is a difficult book to review, for its birth is the little discussion groups held nightly between vicar and workmen, in cellars and shelters while the *blitz* blasted and killed through the long weeks. By what right does one who has never known the fellowship of that suffering and service seek to pass critical judgment upon convictions born of such trials and testings? It is not unappreciative to say that the book has been wrought out of the fires of emotion. The review must be intellectually critical.

Writing then as one outside the fellowship of those "counted worthy," it may be said that the book will confirm those in the faith who need no confirmation. It reaffirms in no new way, save that of the present suffering, what the church has always affirmed. And Mr. Coleman does it well, beautifully, winning response

because of the outgoing of one's heart to the little heroic groups underground, who by their humor, steadfastness, and sacrifice hold communion with the saints of the ages.

But there is no answer to the honest intellectual questioner as to God, whether that questioner be the scholar or the lowly workman—and let it be known the toiler does have his intellectual problems which cannot be brushed aside.

Frankly the author confesses he makes no effort to prove there is a God. He contents himself with the statement that there is plan in the universe and "I think we can agree on the absurdity of *imagining* [italics mine] a plan without a planner." But is there plan in the universe? So Mr. Coleman refuses to face the very first question which he tells us was asked in one group, "Do you really think there is a God?" and declares that men are not so much concerned as to whether there is a God but rather as to "What is God like and how can we know him?" Failing to come to grips with the only real question there is, the author assumes there is a personal God and proceeds in the well-trodden way to declare him. It is "reasonable," we are told, to believe there is a personal God.

Let it be said here that Mr. Coleman, and all of us, miss the significance of that question of "Tiny, a long streak of six feet seven." He is not asking is there a God—that is, is there love, goodness, compassion, sacrifice, forgiveness in the world? He knows there is. He is conscious of those holy, redeeming, saving spiritual forces in his own life—else he would not be where he is. He has found them in the heart and mind and strength of his fellows with whom he has labored in light and darkness through the horror and tragedy when all things else are falling in collapse about him.

What he wants to know is whether that love is personal—is there a conscious, almighty Being in charge? And sympathetic as one may be, it must be said that the Christlike vicar *does not* answer the question. All the answers he does give do not go beyond this "God is Love," "Everyone that loveth is born of God and knoweth God," "Where love is, God is."

Is not this assurance the answer to the questioning of men's hearts?

R. E. E. HARKNESS

Christian Crisis, by Michael de la Bedoyere, New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. xiii, 210, $1.75.

We shall understand this book only when we know that the author is an English, Roman Catholic journalist who has contributed articles to the *Catholic Herald* every week over the course of many years. It is written wholly from the standpoint of a loyal Catholic.

The book is divided into two main sections: Part I, Yesterday; Part II, Today.

In Part I the author seeks to explain the reasons for the threatening collapse of civilization. The answer is, Christianity has lost its dynamic. Since men forever seek security and mastery over circumstances, they have turned from this religion to three "non-Christian Spiritual forces . . . Socialism, Nationalism, Dawnism, (liberalism) . . . in search for a new order of things." Of course these are false gods which cannot give men salvation.

Why the failure of Christianity to give peace and stability to the world? The Reformation, for it "divided Christendom and thereby gravely weakened its authority and rendered inevitable the ultimate disruption of the separated Churches"

(p. 103). So, in Part II, only return to Mother Church and obedience to the pope will bring peace and order. "It is very clear to me from the consideration of the history of Europe alone that the maintenance of social stability depends absolutely upon the preservation of the integrity of Catholic dogma and moral teaching" (p. 172). And again, "Through the Church, which is the treasury of the merits of Christ, man is enabled, directly or indirectly, to rise to the supernatural and to see, as well as to follow, far more clearly and securely the right order of conduct" (p. 173).

It is granted there is a modicum of virtue in Protestantism. "Non-Catholic Christian sects or societies preserve in a greater or lesser degree the actual religious content of Christianity" (p. 174). But of the Anglican Church the author says: "There is no tragedy greater today than this vast spiritual machinery—if I may use such a phrase—lying idle through want of heat, light, and energy; while there lies alongside in the Catholic organization and churches the stored up spiritual force of Christianity, unable so largely to express itself in a working form and to create the machinery it requires if it is to exert its fullest effect" (p. 175).

The answer to this churchman is, of course, the questions: Why did not the church preserve the peace in strictly Roman Catholic countries? May the world state not be due to the fact that Christianity is still too greatly Roman—that is, archaic—rather than to the fact of Protestant "sectarianism"? True, as Mr. Bedoyere says, Christianity is a philosophy or way of life. Exactly; the world needs more of it rather than dogma.

R. E. E. HARKNESS

A Dialogue in the Desert, by Gerald Heard, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. vii, 74, $1.00.

This small volume, charmingly written, is a psychological interpretation of the temptations of Jesus. It is modernized and thrown into the form of a dialogue between the lonely voice, which is the inner, true self of the Master, and the dark echo, that is, the worldly, theological self, or Satan.

In temptations one and two it is indicated that religion is neither magical (making stones into bread) nor conventional ecclesiasticism (casting one's self down from the pinnacle of the temple). The interpretation of the third temptation has some interesting implications. Jesus' refusal of world empire originated in part from his eschatological concept, "This world is a bridge, pass over it, but build no house upon it" (p. 71). Hence as his objective is his Father's kingdom, he cannot plunge into the swamp to drag out suffocating humanity (p. 46). This sounds very strange when, at an earlier time, aid to a poor demoniac brought such an inner glow and an essential revelation (pp. 25-31). Is one maniac in the desert more worth while than the masses sunk in the morass of civilization? Surely the author, in his interest for a theory, has forgotten his logic.

Further, the argumentation is extremely loose. The implication from "I cannot do evil that good may come" (p. 44), is a *non sequitur.* The word *evil* is used ambiguously and is twisted to suit the purpose of the writer. Surely the scourger of the money changers did evil, as also do the surgeon, the dentist, the soldier, and the policeman—and do they not do evil that good may come?

Also, acknowledging, as the author does, that the eschatology of the day influenced the thinking and acting of Jesus (p. 71), it would seem to be far-fetched to argue that the teachings of Jesus could have any literary significance for a later generation. And again, the implication that the realist, the practical man, would

by his very nature betray his Master seems too wide sweeping. True, the practical man often is mercenary, but so also are many of the pious, and it is reported that one of the "otherwordly" groups in America is the wealthiest per capita. Therefore?

While there are many good things in the book, and the spirit throughout might be designated spiritual, the constant special pleading vitiates its usefulness. One cannot escape the deduction that ideals that inhibit groups from participating in political and national activities, and produce parasites on the body politic—that all such ideals are contributory causes to the defects of our civilization and are blameworthy.

I. G. MATTHEWS

The Social Message of the Apostle Paul, by Holmes Rolston, Richmond, John Knox Press, 1942, pp. 250, $2.00.

Christians in this country have turned to the Old Testament prophets and to Jesus for the foundations of their social ethics rather than to Paul. At least we may say that this is true of those concerned with the social gospel. No doubt the impression has prevailed that Paul was something of a conformist and reactionary as regards social institutions. An outstanding Negro educator has suggested, indeed, that Paul's status and privilege as a Roman citizen disqualified him from the unmitigated realism with which Jesus saw matters like slavery and economic factors.

We might, then, anticipate that it would be a writer outside the liberal social gospel tradition who would magnify the social contribution of Paul. Dr. Rolston writes as one appreciating the social responsibility of Christianity and as one outspokenly critical of contemporary social sins. We believe that a powerful case can be made for Paul's contribution in this area. At many points the author has stated this contribution in a telling way. It concerns first of all the norms for human relationships within the Pauline churches, and their theological foundations. But we believe that he has overstated the case, both by reading preoccupations into Paul's mind that were not there and by using the sub-Pauline writings and Acts. And he has compromised the persuasiveness of the case and blurred its edges by the framework of the dialectical theology in which he has stated it.

After a chapter stressing the importance for the church today of guarding its independence with relation to culture and the state, the writer immediately faces the social implications of Paul's eschatology. His conclusion is that it did not, does not, cut the nerve of social endeavor. He recognizes a conservative aspect of Paul's social message but assigns it to Paul's recognition of the "orders" of history and of sin. That is, Paul assigns a degree of validity to the state, to slavery, and to the subordination of woman as part of the existent social scene permitted by God and not to be suddenly overturned. Any frontal attack on such areas requires an "historical decision" by Christians, determined on the one hand by the Word of God, and on the other by particular historical circumstances. Such an historical decision he illustrates by Karl Barth's summons to Christians to oppose the Third Reich, in apparent contradiction of Paul's counsel to obey the powers that be. After chapters on the bearing of Paul's doctrines of God and man, the author studies particular areas of social ethics in the light of Paul's message. These sections are full of helpful exposition and are related interestingly to present issues.

Any approach to Paul in the terms of the dialectical theology and Reformation categories must appear to many of us today to be wooden, stuffy, and scholastic at the best, but nowhere more so than when applied to Paul's ethics. We would not

diminish in any way the dimensions of Paul's best thought, but those dimensions do not need to be safeguarded by this recourse to absolutes and transcendentals. One would never suppose from this book that Paul's ethics had anything to do with Pharisaic precedents, with prejudices of the age, or with sheer sagacious strategy. If we are ready to recognize the infirmities or provincialisms in Paul's outlook at some points, we will be in a better position to realize how he towers above his time and the ages as a living, actual man.

Is it not, moreover, a mistake to insist that Paul stand and deliver in the matter of a social message? It is with Paul as with Luther. They were fountain heads of prodigious religious renewal, but other men canalized their floods and built the irrigation ditches. That is, Paul had a religious and an ethical rather than a social message. Paul's eschatology, we believe, was related to his conservative attitude to social institutions and did limit his social preoccupations, not because he taught an interim ethic, but because his experience and message were at such a depth in man's spiritual life that social outcomes and corollaries were simply not envisaged. When the occasion arises for Christians to work out such corollaries, a significant question arises. The necessity of "historical decisions" by Christians, that is, of taking social-political sides despite the cultural relativities involved, is finely stated in the book. But the conception of the orders in society consequent on sin appears to weigh the scales in favor of conservatism. It is easy to persuade ourselves on these terms that economic exploitation or racial injustice do not yet call for decision.

AMOS N. WILDER

BOOK NOTICES

Stephen Grellet, by William Wistar Comfort, New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 202, $2.00.

One lays down this book with a feeling of thankfulness at having been immersed for several hours in the life-story of a great and good man. One says, "It was good to read about such a plain, sincere, and selfless life which had such purity of heart as to will only one thing and that to reveal the love of God through the service of man."

Stephen Grellet, as the name suggests, was a Frenchman. Born in 1773 at Limoges, he thereby became a member of a well-to-do Catholic family which, twenty years later, was to know a reversal of fortune due to the French Revolution. For two years (1793-95) both Stephen's father and mother were imprisoned. They were saved from the guillotine's blade only by the timely death of Robespierre. In the meantime, Stephen, who had served with the Royalist forces, came to North America with his brother Joseph, reaching New York City in 1795. In this region he became acquainted with some members of the Society of Friends and was finally led, through a religious experience, to embrace this faith in preference to his Roman Catholicism. About two years later, in 1796, he became a minister in the Society of Friends at Philadelphia. Thus he entered the work of distributing Bibles and religious books, preaching, and general ministry to the socially unfortunate. Such was the beginning of the religious work of Stephen Grellet, the Franco-American missionary and diplomat who was "perhaps the most influential Quaker minister and missionary of the last two centuries" (p. vii).

In his missionary journeys, which extended over approximately forty years, Grellet covered nearly 100,000 miles. This is truly an amazing achievement in days when the means of transportation were practically the same as those used by St. Paul. These journeys took him to the West Indies, back and forth across the eastern seaboard states, west to Ohio and Illinois, and three times to Europe—his journeys there covering the whole of the continent from Spain to Ireland, Ireland to Norway, Norway to Russia, Russia to Turkey, Turkey to Italy, and most of the countries within that geographical circle.

The purpose of all Grellet's travels was to impart the Friends' conception of spirit-centred religion, to befriend the orphan, the sick, and those in prison, and to persuade those in positions of power to correct evil conditions existing within their jurisdiction and to work for international good will. The last two constituted his chief ministry, taking him, oftentimes unexpectedly, into private meetings with the most important and influential people of Europe. Among others, he had conferences with Alexander I of Russia, Ferdinand VII of Spain, Maximilian I of Bavaria, Bernadotte of Sweden and Norway, and Pope Pius VII. To all of these he spoke kindly but frankly of the evil conditions within their areas of influence, appealing to them to alleviate the lot of the poor, the sick, the orphans, and the imprisoned. Incidentally, we might mention here, that it was Grellet who stirred Elizabeth Fry to her well-known work for prisoners and for the children dependent upon them.

Here is a revelation of the influence of a selfless and good life. If you are looking for a book to renew your faith in the validity and effectiveness of right-eousness, read this volume.

GEORGE W. DAVIS

The Fourth Gospel, by R. H. Strachan, 3rd ed., London, Student Christian Movement Press [New York, Macmillan], 1941, pp. x, 345, $3.50.

The first edition of this book appeared nearly twenty-five years ago. During the passing years so much water has flowed under the bridge that it was necessary to rewrite it completely. Thus it is essentially a new book although naturally many positions remain unchanged. Perhaps the most conspicuous alteration is that with regard to integrity. Mr. Strachan now regards the gospel (with the probable exception of the last chapter) as being preserved essentially as it left the author's hand. Thus he views as unconvincing earlier attempts to isolate sections as "editorial additions" and disavows the still popular trick of rearranging the order of several of the sections—so dear to the hearts of Moffatt and especially Bultmann (to which latter commentator he surprisingly does not refer—recent German books are probably not to be had in England).

The volume may be studied with profit. Any casual reading of it is almost certainly doomed to failure, for it is so carefully written that frequent rereading and pondering are necessary before one can be quite sure what the author's own views are. The first ninety-six pages are devoted to questions of introduction; the rest of the volume is an exposition of the thought of the gospel. He is convinced that while the evangelist's purpose is not to write history, there has yet been preserved no inconsiderable amount of history without which our portrait of Jesus would be incomplete. He apparently is inclined away from the view that the evangelist was acquainted with any of the Synoptic gospels, and feels that instead he had access to and drew upon "a collection of written sources parallel to and cognate with those employed by Mark and Luke." But these questions are largely incidental. His chief interest, as the subtitle suggests, is the significance and environment of this ancient enigma.

MORTON S. ENSLIN

Medieval Humanism, by Gerald G. Walsh, New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. ix, 103, $1.00.

A delightful little book. Quite properly Dr. Walsh, who is professor of medieval culture in Fordham University, defines humanism in his first sentence. "Humanism, in general, I take to be the idea that a human being is meant to achieve, during life, a fair measure of human happiness." Very good!

The author then proceeds in traditional Roman Catholic fashion. Christianity does not rob humanity of its dignity and its joy of living. It adds to it, fulfilling the hopes of the ages. In fact, men knew not the truth, and therefore enjoyed not freedom, until Christ came. The Græco-Roman world created a beautiful language and built excellent roads by which and over which the gospel of liberty might be carried to all lands, but it contributed little else. Christianity alone has enriched life, nor has it "in giving us heaven" taken "away the earth."

Through the ages the church, with whom the truth has been deposited, has taken this view of the double gift of the gospel. This world is to be enjoyed with a happy, grateful spirit. Illustrations of this are to be found in little poems of the Middle Ages, one of which, we are glad to say, is quoted with approval by Dr. Walsh:

> In the public-house to die
> Is my resolution;
> Let wine to my lips be nigh
> At life's dissolution:
> That will make the Angels cry
> With glad elocution
> "Grant this toper, God on high,
> Grace and absolution."

Assuredly this professor of medieval culture "loves life." He has made these ages jolly for us—and wholesome too.

Medieval Humanism is one of the volumes of the *Christendom Series* prepared under the auspices of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, published by Macmillan. "The books are intended to provide reading for both Catholic and non-Catholic readers; for study in clubs in the parochial units of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine; for study groups in the Newman Clubs; as collateral texts in colleges, normal schools, and senior high and preparatory schools." The series provide a most subtle form of Roman Catholic propaganda.

R. E. E. HARKNESS

Release, by Starr Daily, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. xix, 234, $2.00.

This is not just another book. I have never read anything like it, though I have read stories of ex-criminals. Starr Daily is the new name of a man who left his old name in prison after twenty-five years of incarceration. He began as a juvenile delinquent who soon became a confirmed criminal, bitterly antisocial, filled with hatred against those whom he held responsible for his denial of liberty. Prison authorities tried to break his recalcitrant spirit by solitary confinement and by torture, but only confirmed his animosity. The attempts of chaplains and religious visitors to reach him drove him in the opposite direction. To him they were all pious hypocrites. But he was brought into contact with a fellow prisoner, a "lifer," who conquered his soul by the solicitation of friendship, and he was literally born anew. Some of his conversations with this remarkable "lifer" are recorded in this book. After his transformation he was assigned to the prison hospital as a night nurse and he began to put into use the lessons he had learned from his fellow prisoner in his relations with the prison patients. There were some extraordinary results which are reported in this book. Daily achieved a technique of self-discipline and spiritual rebuilding which he describes in detail. There is no suggestion in his writing that everyone must take his way, but there are ideas worth pondering by anyone who desires a richer, fuller life. Book jacket blurbs are often to be discounted, but the first sentence on this book's jacket is sober truth: "This is one of the most strange and dramatic personal histories of our time."

GORDON POTEAT

Archæology and the Religion of Israel, by William Foxwell Albright, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1942, pp. xii, 238, $2.25.

The theme is handled in an orderly and comprehensive fashion, and we are assured that at least 90 per cent of the material does not appear in the earlier volume, *From the Stone Age to Christianity.* However, the bulk of the material and the conclusions in large part have appeared in articles in various journals. The volume is highly technical and laden with details, the footnotes requiring forty-four pages of fine print. While there are additions that were not suitable for oral delivery, even the popular form must have taxed the comprehension of a seminary faculty, its students and friends. It is always profitable, however, for such an audience to become aware that important horizons lie beyond their ken. It is a work for specialists to ponder. To appraise it accurately a council of savants, composed of archæologists, Egyptologists, Assyriologists, Ugariticists, and philosophers would be needed.

Some slight changes in the general outlook of the author have been noted. His emphasis on the value of the ecstatic element has been modified (p. 120), and Mosaic monotheism has now become "implicit rather than intellectual and explicit" (p. 177). It seems unfortunate that Moses and the Hebrew leaders down to the

seventh century were unaware that they held such a doctrine. The new phrasing, however, either gives away the whole contention on Mosaic monotheism, or it entirely begs the question.

I. G. MATTHEWS

A Digest of Christian Thinking, by Charles S. Macfarland, New York, Revell, 1942, pp. 192, $1.50.

In this volume we have book reviews *par excellence,* covering forty-two contemporaneous works. These are not considered in haphazard order, but are arranged in six significant groups: I. Philosophy, Ethics, and Theology; II. Contemporary Psychology; III. The Revision of Christian Education; IV. Christian Thinking in Great Britain; V. The New Order of Mankind; VI. The Lessons of History. Among the authors listed appear the names of Leslie D. Weatherhead, Roswell P. Barnes, Walter W. Van Kirk, Martin Niemoeller, Charles Clayton Morrison, and others of equal note. The author is well qualified by study and experience to produce such a work. This is the fifth volume of its kind which he has written during the past six years. While consistently resisting any impulse to use its pages as a vehicle for his own religious views, his brief concluding statements concerning the books are significant. A few examples will illustrate this. His comment on *The Nature and Destiny of Man,* by Reinhold Niebuhr is "As to the conclusions to which this massing of brilliant and impressive erudition arrives on the nature of man, they are about what a Gallup poll would discover by inquiring of the man of the street of average intelligence and moral consciousness." After his review of *The Christian Interpretation of Sex,* by Otto Piper he writes, "Probably no other Biblical study of the subject equals this volume in its honesty, sympathy and its lifting of sex relations to the elevation of holiness. Every theological student should master its conceptions in preparation for pastoral work." *The Nature of the Early Church* he calls "a remarkable and surpassing volume even for Ernest F. Scott." Following his presentation of *The Great Century* and *The Unquenchable Light,* by Kenneth S. Latourette, he gives it as his opinion that the author's view "has an amplitude of perspective and an unerring sense of direction together with an insight that penetrates to the very heart of history." The busy minister will save time by reading this book, for it will help him to determine his objectives in reading. The layman who is interested in religious thought will find it of like value.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER

The Catholic Revival in England, by John J. O'Connor, New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. ix, 102, $1.00.

The author is professor of history in St. John's University, New York City. The book is one in the *Christendom Series* (see review of *Medieval Humanism* in this issue).

It is a story of the remarkably successful effort of Rome to reëstablish Roman Catholicism in England during the period 1770-1892, under the leadership of such great churchmen as Wiseman, Newman, and Manning. We are told, with acclaim, that "In 1780 the total Catholic population of England and Wales was sixty thousand. In Manning's time it was just short of two million. To-day, according to figures included in the 1941 issue of the Catholic Directory, the Catholic population of these countries is almost two and one-half million."

Frankly, "The attempt has been made to present the Revival in a Catholic setting, to see it, so to speak, from the inside, rather than to chronicle the effect of

the Revival upon the English attitude toward the Church." Consequently, as the author reveals, the church through this century and a quarter had little concern for the deplorable social conditions of London or the nation. Only in the last few pages of the book is attention given to this factor. "In 1872 the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster [Manning] attended for the first time a labor union meeting in which he moved a resolution of sympathy for agricultural workers." Then because a socialist followed him with an address, and Manning had been assured "he would not be asked to coöperate with a Socialist," he "left the hall in protest."

He soon realized his mistake, however, and proceeded to organize a social reform movement as "equally complete . . . according to Catholic principles." We are informed that "Manning's public action was a tremendous boon to the Catholic Revival."

R. E. E. HARKNESS

Barclay in Brief, by Eleanore Price Mather, Wallingford (Pa.), Pendle Hill, 1942, pp. 90, $0.25 (paper), $0.75 (cloth).

This little booklet is a condensation of Barclay's, *Apology for the True Christian Divinity,* being an explanation and vindication of the principles and doctrines of the people called Quakers, which was first published in 1676. As Howard H. Brinton, director of Pendle Hill, says in the preface to the present book, Barclay wrote in opposition to the Calvinism of his day which had created an "unbridgeable chasm between man and God" due to man's inherited sin. Barclay asserts that within man "is a seed of the divine" which, if nurtured, "will grow and transform him into its own likeness making man one with God." Quakerism, therefore, is opposed not only to Calvinism but also to "modern theological liberalism" by which "man enters the holy of holies only to find himself there." It must be said in reply to this that if Mr. Brinton is no more correct in his interpretation of Quakerism than he is of "modern theological liberalism" the little book will prove useless. However, as Eleanore Price Mather lets Barclay speak, we find a faith which has been held by innumerable Christians not only within but without the household of Friends. It is an expression of that inward experience of the individual with God, that is, with holiness, truth, beauty, love that enables him to cling to these as the most worthy way of life whatever the price he must pay therefor. This is an excellent little book to possess. All Christians should be indebted to Pendle Hill for giving us in these days of concern and distraction this declaration of unshakable convictions on the part of our fellow men who three hundred years ago victoriously went through a similar world experience as ours. We shall not forget the revolutionary turmoil of England's Civil War in the middle of the seventeenth century and the cruel destructiveness of the Thirty Years War out of whose fires came the purified faith of the Friends.

R. E. E. HARKNESS

War as a Social Institution, edited by J. D. Clarkson and T. C. Cochran, New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. xvii, 333, $3.50.

Let us give thanks for historians, for those who keep records, who remind us of the past which we forget so easily. If we are to make any progress, we must not be allowed to forget our blunders, for our natural inclination is to push them out of sight. How many isolationist editors remember the editorials they wrote before Pearl Harbor? The historians in this volume pull out the records of the immediate and the remote past and make us look at our tragic mistakes. The book is a symposium consisting of the papers read at the annual meeting of the American

Historical Society. These are in no sense merely academic dissertations. They are studies of great contemporaneous importance. Some of them might well be published in pamphlet form and broadcast over the nation, particularly D. F. Fleming's paper on "The Failure of Isolation" or George Mowry's "The First World War and American Democracy." Topics covered include: the roots of war, the strategy and conduct of war, the neutral and war, war and society, America and the present war. This is an important book.

GORDON POTEAT

Invitation to Worship, by A. C. Reid, Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1942, pp. 157, $1.50.

Most volumes of sermons, whatever joy they may bring to the preacher eager for even an extra cupful of water for his underfilled boiler, are a weariness to the flesh of the professional reviewer. Even if they were of interest and profit when listened to—and of this there is often a question—they are distinctly not that to those who view them with no predatory eye. This point might be expanded—because the present volume is so totally different. It is composed of fifty talks, most of which were delivered in the chapel of Harvard University. None of them exceeds two pages, for the requirement in that seat of worship and learning is still: "Stand up, speak up, and shut up." Dean Sperry in his preface comments upon the distinctly unusual attendance they inspired. Few will wonder why after even a few minutes reading. They are crisp without being staccato, devout without being soft, practical without being inconsequential. Five minutes a day with this little book will do things for a man.

MORTON S. ENSLIN

Christian Missions in Today's World, by W. O. Carver, Nashville, Broadman, [New York, Harper], 1942, pp. viii, 148, $1.50.

A contribution by a lifelong and sympathetic, although critical, student of Christian missions. Few men know better the historical background of missionary movements or are more concerned regarding their future. Perhaps the centre of his argument is the conclusion that while the church succeeded in making "the doctrine of the Cross central in its theology," and "the dogma of deity central in its own controversies," and the two words *cross* and *deity* too often words of magic "for masses of unthinking men who desire the gift of security for heaven without the experience of ethical achievement in a kingdom in which the will of God must be done on earth," it has failed in making the cross sufficiently a working principle. The author raises the question as to whether in missionary work we are to carry the gospel and leave it free to work out its own forms in new fields, or whether we will reproduce our own organizations. One wishes he had given a more definite reply; yet an affirmative answer does seem to be implied in later chapters. He recognizes that we have reached the end of an era in Christian missions; that world community is needed, and organizations to that end are required; and that "reconception" of the task and processes are necessary in the face of new situations. A valuable book, which does not attempt diagrams but deals with principles.

JAMES H. FRANKLIN

Christianity and the Family, by Ernest R. Groves, New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. ix, 229, $2.00.

Professor Groves, of the University of North Carolina, is recognized as an authority in the sociology of the family. It is perhaps not so well-known that he has a background of theological training and church experience. This combination

gives him unusual qualifications for handling the theme he has chosen for this book. The discussion is divided into two parts: "The Family as an ally of Christianity" and "The Church as an ally of the Family." Mr. Groves states his purpose as follows: "The book seeks to give confidence to the minister who tries to help the family perform its spiritual purpose, to aid him in both his teachings and his counseling, and to warn him of and safeguard him from the hazards associated with his pastoral services as counselor." Written definitely to give guidance to the minister in his dealing with family problems, this book is an invaluable aid which all ministers will do well to possess.

GORDON POTEAT

Who Is My Patient? by Russell L. Dicks, New York, Macmillan, 1941, pp. 149, $1.50.

This a religious manual for nurses, giving them guidance in their religious ministry. The book is composed of three parts: "Religion, the Nurse, and the Patients," "The Nurse and the Clergyman," and "The Nurse and the Sick." Chapter IV, "Conditions of Stress," directs the nurse in the crisis before the operation, as the patient faces a long convalescence or weighs the problem of coming to grips with life under a handicap or knows of approaching death, and finally as she deals with the family of her patient. Much of this chapter is instructive to the ministers, as is Chapter V—"The Clergyman's Ministry to the Sick." At the head of the list of methods available to both nurse and clergyman is "the art of listening," of which too many ministers know little; rather they go to counsel and preach to the patient. But how shall one listen? To what would he listen? Can he guide the conversation so as to hear what he needs to hear? In these matters the nurse—and the minister too—is instructed. Very suggestive to the clergyman is a chapter on "The Use of the Bible." This is a little book of worth to minister as well as nurse.

W. R. McNUTT

New Horizons, by Frederick C. Gill, Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1942, pp. 127, $1.00.

The author is a Methodist pastor in Warwickshire, England. His book is prompted by the conviction that we are losing our sense of religion. We are enslaved by materialism, and possessed of the "cinema" mind. Has the vision which has inspired men through the ages gone forever? He thinks not. The vision is bound to live, and most of the volume seems to be given to an attempt to reveal new horizons. He thinks we treat everything as something to be discussed and analyzed instead of "Someone to be worshiped and adored." In the several chapters effort is made to show how in Christ and his teachings the new horizons may be found. He regards the message of the gospel as "among the strongest and most logical things in the world." But we must invade the world with the gospel in order to win it, in no spirit of asceticism, but with joyousness and confidence. The Lord's call is away from cloistered lives. The salt must be spread about the world to keep it wholesome. He believes that the operations of the spirit of God are slow like those of nature, but nevertheless sure. Therefore, men should look up and find new horizons, for their redemption draweth nigh.

JAMES H. FRANKLIN

No Sign Shall Be Given, by Hugh S. Tigner, New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 198, $1.75.

My first impulse upon finishing this book was to urge all my friends to read it. This is what I am doing in this review. It is a book for our times, especially for

the men who must preach in these times. It is tonic and vital in every sense. Though not a book of sermons, it is preëminently a book for preachers whose spirits may be dragging a bit with the weight of the war upon them. Beginning in the prologue with a description of an abandoned church in northern New York state as symptomatic of the condition ministers face, the author outlines the Hebrew-Christian heritage as it relates to American history and to our pressing problem of social unity. A chapter on "Saving the Values of Democracy" is followed by one on "Why Our Colleges Can't Educate." There is a chapter entitled "They don't go to church," which is an excellent discussion of Channing Pollock's article which appeared in the *Reader's Digest*: "Why I don't go to church." This is a book which speaks directly to our condition, convicting us of sin, but giving us the hope of salvation. It will do any man good to read it.

GORDON POTEAT

An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination, by John Day, New York, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. xi, 300, $3.50.

Professor Day, of the department of Greek and Latin in Barnard College, has provided a distinctly usable and intimate study of imperial Athens (200 B.C.—300 A.D.). It is primarily a tool for the professional student and will be welcomed as such. It is copiously annotated and is equipped with a very full bibliography and an admirably classified (fourteen page) index.

MORTON S. ENSLIN

Sacred Scriptures and Religious Philosophy, by Bardella Ship Curtis, Caldwell (Idaho), Caxton Printers, 1942, pp. 320, $3.00.

The writer has browsed here and there in the fields of archæology, sociology, the various sciences, and the sacred Scriptures—chiefly among the more popular volumes. Much of that which she has found—fact, fake, and fiction—is grist for her mill, *viz.*, to write a book that glorified Mormonism. This modern Faith, in practice, is superior to this pseudohistorical apologetic.

I. G. MATTHEWS

The World at One in Prayer, edited by Daniel Johnson Fleming, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. xi, 204, $2.00.

This volume, the fourth in Harper's "ecumenical series," is a compilation of the prayers of Christians of many peoples and lands. To be exact, there are two hundred and fifteen prayers representative of fifty peoples. Here are long prayers and short prayers, prayers in prose and prayers in poetry—prayers of great variety in form, all revealing a genuine and honest faith in the Christian God and Father who hears and answers the cry of all his children. Here are the prayers that rise like a swelling chorus of the faithful from all the earth. This book is a Christian document of wide significance, true devotion, and rich beauty.

W. R. McNUTT

The Pathway to the Cross, by George Arthur Clarke, New York, Association Press, 1942, pp. 150, $1.00.

Fourteen brief Lenten sermons by the pastor of the First Baptist Church of Malden, Mass., a Crozer alumnus. The Association Press does not usually publish sermons; that it publishes this collection is an indication of its quality. Dr. Clarke is adept in his use of illustration, a gift that makes sermons effective. Crozer men

will be interested in a hitherto unpublished poem by Professor Spenser B. Meeser which is quoted on p. 134.

GORDON POTEAT

Let Us Sing, by B. B. McKinney and A. W. Graves, Nashville, Broadman, 1942, pp. 174, $0.60.

Music is a very definite and contributory part of the Christian service of worship. Not all, perhaps only a relatively few, ministers of churches are natively or educationally equipped to direct the musical program of their people. Consequently they approach the problem conscious only of the immensity of the field and of the complexity of its elements. For such leaders of religious groups this compact and direct manual will be extremely helpful. Few of the problems of initial approach are omitted, although none of them is exhaustively treated. The simplicity of its statements may be to many its weakness, but there must be a multitude to whom it will be an inspirational education in the commonplace fundamentals of music in the church. The authors are practical in their suggestions, specific in their illustrations, and encouraging in their projected enthusiasm.

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON

The Grit To Grapple with Life, by Strother A. Campbell, Nashville, Broadman, 1942, pp. 144, $1.00.

Dr. Campbell is a son of Crozer, and minister of the Baptist Temple, Charleston, W. Va. His book is composed of thirteen sermons. These reveal a thoughtful preacher able to set forth profound truth in simple, and often homely, phrase. They display insight, the common touch, utter sincerity, and courage.

W. R. McNUTT

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Fine Art of Living Together, by Albert W. Beavan, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. xxi, 134, $1.60.

A revised edition of the 1937 printing. It is one of the sanest and most helpful of the many books dealing with love, courtship, marriage, and the Christian home.

The Crucifiers—Then and Now, by Talmage C. Johnson, Nashville, Broadman, 1942, pp. 116, $1.00.

A series of sermons designed to show the sort of vices which crucify the Christ today as they did two thousand years ago.

**New Testament Studies,* edited by Edwin Prince Booth, Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1942, pp. 290, $2.50.

**A History of Early Christian Literature,* by Edgar J. Goodspeed, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. xiii, 324, $2.50.

**Chiasmus in the New Testament,* by Nils Wilhelm Lund, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. xiv, 428, $4.00.

**Science, Philosophy, and Religion: A Symposium,* published by Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion, New York, 1942, pp. xv, 559.

**The History of Quakerism,* by Elbert Russell, New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. xxv, 586, $3.00.

The Place Where Thou Standest, by Paul Scherer, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. viii, 176, $1.50.

Twenty-five timely sermons by one of America's leading preachers.

**Paths of Life,* by Charles Morris, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. 257, $3.00.

**Religion in Illness and Health,* by Carroll A. Wise, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. xiv, 279, $2.50.

**The Odyssey of a Faith,* by Bernhard Heller, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. xvii, 277, $2.50.

The Twofold Power of the Gospel, by Clyde V. Hickerson, Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1942, pp. 164, $1.50.

Ten sermons by the pastor of the Baptist Temple, San Antonio, Texas.

**John Hus and the Czech Reform,* by Matthew Spinka, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. vii, 81, $1.50.

Lee Rutland Scarborough, by H. E. Dana, Nashville, Broadman, 1942, pp. 145, $1.25.

An enthusiastic and glowing biography of the second president of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, written by a warm friend and former colleague.

**Two or Three Gathered Together,* by Glenn Clark, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. 154, $1.25.

An Appraisal of the Protocols of Zion, by John S. Curtiss, New York, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. xi, 118, $1.00.

Since their appearance in a Russian newspaper in 1903 these so-called Protocols have been in the public eye and have led to widely differing estimates. The present volume, after a scholarly examination of all the facts, pronounces them a rank and pernicious forgery. This conclusion is unqualifiedly shared by a group of eminent American historians who read and checked the study before publication.

**You Are My Friends,* by Frank Laubach, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. x, 178, $1.50.

I Still Believe in God, by Jacob A. Dell, Columbus, Wartburg Press, 1942, pp. 256, $2.00.

"This is not an attempt to rationalize faith; it is rather an attempt to show that faith in God is reasonable, satisfying, and desirable." Conservative in outlook; Christian in tone and temper.

**What Man Can Make of Man,* by William Ernest Hocking, New York, Harper, 1942, pp. 62, $1.00.

Faith of Our Fathers, edited by John L. Hill, Nashville, Broadman, 1942, pp. 121, $1.00.

Thirteen sermons preached over the air in the 1942 [Southern] Baptist Hour.

Special Day Sermons, by Millard Alfred Jenkins, Nashville, Broadman, 1942, pp. 139, $1.00.

Nine sermons by the pastor of the First Baptist Church, Abilene, Texas.

War Is the Enemy, by A. J. Muste, Wallingford (Pa.), Pendle Hill Pamphlet 15, 1942, pp. 36, $0.15.

Peacemakers' Dilemma, by Bertram Pirkard, Wallingford, Pendle Hill Pamphlet 16, 1942, pp. 75, $0.25.

New Nations for Old, by Kenneth Boulding, Wallingford, Pendle Hill Pamphlet 17, 1942, pp. 40, $0.25.

* To be reviewed.